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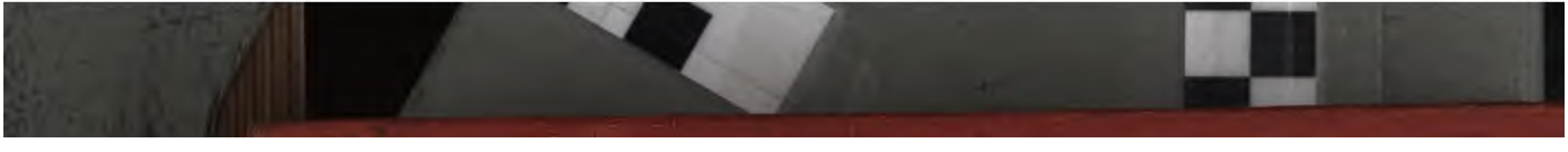

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MODERN FRANCE

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

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BASTILLE.

MODERN FRANCE
1789—1895

By ANDRÉ LEBON

MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE is some difficulty in compressing into one volume the history of a century so rich in ideas, in events and in men as the present period has been in France. Such an effort at reduction necessitates the elimination of all that is picturesque in the facts to be related, leaving only their substance, and all attempt at giving any portrait of the personages whose acts are narrated in their results alone.

It has struck me, however, that even so brief a summary may not be useless, since the principal characteristics of our century, which are now to be found scattered throughout various special histories, when brought together and united may furnish to the reader their own peculiar contingent of instruction.

I shall not dwell on the nature of this instruction, but prefer to leave the facts to speak for themselves, rather than to suggest reflections which might be attributed to party-spirit.

I owe to the reader also a few words on the method which I have endeavoured to follow, as well as on the general conception of the work.

My method, if somewhat unusual, is at any rate of an extreme simplicity, since it consists in relating accomplished facts, and seeking their origin not in the circumstances which render them difficult of comprehension, but in those which make them explicable. That is to say, where a political system has failed, I have tried to show its obvious defects and not its hidden virtues.

As to my conception of the book, it was imposed upon me by the subject itself. After the formidable outbreak of the French Revolution and the events of the French Empire, civil equality triumphed, but all problems connected with the political organisation of the country, with public liberty and the advent of democracy, remained unsolved, and while the first phase ran its course, power was centred in a pro-

and was thrust aside in order that popular Right, which is political equality, might proclaim its power unmistakably.

After the ruin and the shame of the Second Empire, equality still subsisted and liberty returned. France is at present engaged on the task of finding a *modus vivendi* for both which shall contribute to the progress of democracy. The undertaking is all the more difficult that the instruction of the people, which ought to have preceded the change, has lagged slowly after it, so that the nation's initiation into normal conditions of political life was not made either under the repression from which the previous generation suffered, nor during the struggle for existence imposed upon the Republic by the National Assembly and later in 1889 and 1893.

The author would be glad if these pages might prove to those who read them that it is not by flying from one excess to another that a great people can achieve freedom and occupy a becoming place in the world.

PARIS, 1897.

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MODERN FRANCE.

(1781—1895.)

I.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION — THE STATES-GENERAL—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY — THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(*May* 5, 1789—*December* 21, 1792.)

THE task before us is not that of describing minutely the political and social condition of France at the close of the Ancient Régime;[1] all we have to do is rapidly to sketch the more characteristic features of the change which culminated in the French Revolution.

The first thing to be noted is the omnipotence of the sovereign. All contemporary writers of the time of Louis XVI. agree in declaring that there existed no definite rule for the discharge of public

[1] A volume of the present series is to be devoted to the period covering the years from 1515 to 1789.

functions, and if, later, under the influence of an inevitable reaction against revolutionary doctrines, a certain school of writers has maintained that France had a genuine Constitution previously to 1789, this theory is altogether contradicted by the observations of contemporaries.

"All evils," wrote Turgot, in his celebrated "Memorial to the King," "arise from the absence in France of a Constitution." And Necker, in his turn, spoke of "this pretended Constitution wherein no public power can find either the beginning of its rights or the limit of its authority."

In fact a few customs—for the most part obsolete, or, if not obsolete, at least easily superseded by contrary customs — alone restrained the arbitrary power of the sovereign. The States-General—

lettre de cachet, alike the most illustrious and the most obscure of his subjects. In short, under the more or less specious appearance of local activity, all the real administration of province and town was in the hands of agents of the central power, otherwise named Intendants.

Under a system of government so nearly absolute the King obviously could not perform personally and in detail the functions attributed to him, and on the other hand he was occasionally subject to a certain pressure of public opinion. Throughout the eighteenth century, during the reigns of the depraved Louis XV. and his weakly-amiable successor, it was the Court which really governed, and the Court was composed of privileged persons, forming the only portion of the public whose opinion could reach the throne.

A privileged clergy owned an immense extent of territory, and were not only exempt from payment of state taxes, but possessed the right of levying tithes for their own advantage upon the poor. A privileged nobility whose sons, elder and younger, shared the immunities which were always growing in number with the creation of new titles, ground the people down by the exercise of feudal rights, while themselves paying no taxes into the royal treasury. And even a not inconsiderable portion of the Third Estate had either bought exemption from a certain number of state taxes, or profited by the venality of government functionaries and legal officers to escape from payment of them. So that De Tocqueville, who

must be numbered among the writers most to be relied upon in their description of the Ancient Régime, summed up the situation by saying, "Taxation fell not upon those who could best pay it, but upon those who could least escape it."

Such a system, although fundamentally unjustifiable, might at least be tolerable if accompanied by good government; but it could not survive either the disastrous wars under Louis XV. or the economic and financial crises which marked the reign of Louis XVI.

Our brief sketch suffices to show what were the chief features of the Revolution. First it involved social change—that is to say, the disappearance of privileges; then it had to effect a political readjustment which should render the restoration of privi-

the election of deputies or in the lists of grievances (*cahiers de doléances*) which it was customary to submit to candidates. Hardly even any apprehension was expressed lest the deputies should not employ full freedom of deliberation.

No question of political organisation was raised, only a general resolute demand formulated for individual liberty, inviolability of property, equality of imposts, and prohibition of any levy of taxes without the consent of the nation. Briefly, the people, on being consulted after a silence of two centuries, assigned to their representatives a task of social reconstruction, but did not indicate the measures to be taken to this end. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the political aspect of the situation had to be faced from the very first day.

The States-General met at Versailles on May 5, 1789.

According to precedent the members of each estate should have deliberated apart from the others, thus in a manner forming three Chambers with distinct respective interests.

But the Third Estate, representing as it did the middle class, composed the most numerous of the three orders, and aimed directly at suppressing the privileges of the other two. It could not allow the decisions it might arrive at to be subject to the consent of the other interested parties, and consequently demanded that all three orders should meet in a Plenary Assembly, and the vote of the majority be taken. On the 17th of June the Third Estate proclaimed itself a National Assembly, and in the

COURT OATH.

famous Session of the Tennis Court swore not to separate again until it had given a Constitution to France. But the clergy and the nobility, impressed with the danger of the situation, could not allow themselves to be absorbed, and they were supported by the King, who, in a sitting on the 23rd of June, declared that he would only consent to a Plenary Assembly when neither property nor privilege were at stake, and when there should be no question of any rules for ulterior convocations of the States-General. In other words, he refused to allow a total poll on the only occasions when it would be necessary.

Open war was thus declared, but only for a moment. Already, by the 27th of the same month the King had come to see that he must yield to the immovable resolution of the Third Estate, additionally fortified as this was by the support of the lower clergy and the small nobility.

He allowed the three orders to assemble, but his reluctance and hesitation had bred distrust of him, and the Revolution had commenced, although it was not yet accomplished.

And out of the very circumstances accompanying these incidents arose the ideas which were to reign in the Constituent Assembly, and of which our own times still feel the influence.

The desire to confer a Constitutional Monarchy on France was unanimous, and would probably so have remained for a long time, but for the repeated mistakes committed by the King and the Court party.

Already two schools of thought were formed, one rationalist, the other historical; but the former was destined to absorb the latter without any prevision of the extremes to which its own doctrines would lead it.

The leaders of the historical school were men like Mounier and Malouet, who professed themselves disciples of Montesquieu and accepted his teachings in regard to England. We need not here inquire whether the great thinker really did describe the English Constitution as it existed in the eighteenth century, or whether his conception of it was an abstract and consequently incorrect one. The fact remains that the historical school chiefly represented the ideas which Montesquieu had introduced to the world of thought, and recommended a more or less

To the rationalist school the meaning of the situation was clear. This school was permeated with the ideas of Rousseau on Natural Rights, and not finding in French traditions any elements for a new political order guaranteeing the liberties of the people, it followed Sièyes along a path of political speculation often just in principle, but erroneous in application. Thus, while accepting the separation of powers it pushed the principle to such lengths as to demand a permanent Legislative Assembly, which the Executive should have no power to dissolve, whose decisions should be independent, and none of whose members could be a minister.

The rationalists did not indeed reject *a priori* a plurality of Chambers, and went so far as to admit that there might even be three; but they started by saying that where the framing of a Constitution was in question, the existence of one Assembly only would best ensure the unanimous expression of the national will.

And the Constitution once made, it was extremely unreasonable, they maintained, to form three Chambers of which the component classes were mutually at variance, the only true method being to divide the Third Estate into three equal parts.[1]

On the one hand there was distrust of the Executive, resulting as well from past errors as from the hesitating and reactionary attitude of the Court when the Revolution first broke out; on the other was the almost insurmountable difficulty, at so critical a moment, of practically defining the various powers of

[1] Thus Sièyes in his celebrated pamphlet on the Third Estate.

government and limiting their respective fields; and in the situation thus created we find the origin of all the mistakes inevitably committed by the Revolutionists. Moreover, in addition to class distinction, there were other privileges peculiar to provinces, municipalities, and corporations, and these, joined to local custom, were opposed in spirit to that uniform and united government of which, otherwise, the need was general.

This same need became more pressing later, when a coalition of foreign sovereigns threatened the territorial independence of France, and forced the new government to adopt a more centralised method of administration than had prevailed under the Ancient Régime.

France desired renovation, yet in her past history

Assembly, boldly announced: "Our aim is to make a Declaration of Rights which shall serve for all men, all times, and all countries, and be an example to the whole world." And from this notion sprang the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man, drafted by the Assembly on the 26th of August.

The document was far more practical in its tenure than might appear on a first reading, for each one of the principles formulated responded to a need of the moment. But the phrasing and general tone were too abstract and philosophical, and the real meaning of the proclamation being thus obscured, it was easily twisted by acute critics into a sense never intended by its authors.

"Men at birth are all free and entitled to the same rights," said the famous Declaration, such rights being further defined as consisting primarily of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Sovereignty is vested in the whole nation; liberty consists in being able to do whatever does not injure others; the law may only forbid actions which are harmful to society, and is limited to the expression of the general will. The law must be equal for all, and all citizens, either personally or through their representatives, are entitled to assist in the framing of laws.

On these general statements followed a number of more definite assertions—to wit, all citizens to be qualified for posts in the public service without any other distinction than that afforded by differences of ability; no man to be arrested or detained unless by permission, and in conformity with the

law ; no penal laws to be made retrospective in their action ; liberty of opinion, even in religious questions, unless the manifestation of any such opinion constitute an interference with public order ; right of free speech, writing and printing, but with full responsibility for the abuse of such authorisation ; equal incidence of taxation according to each person's income ; the right accorded to all citizens of fixing

the Executive and Legislative almost strangers to one another, to subordinate the first to the second, and finally to deprive the Legislative of all real power, and concentrate authority in the hands of a group of irresponsible functionaries.

But while the thinkers of the Assembly thus gave the rein to their academic tendencies, the realities of the moment were emerging more and more distinctly, and the true meaning of the Revolution soon became apparent.

The Court was far from accepting as irrevocable its own capitulation of the 27th of June. Already it was preparing a counter-stroke, and did not shrink from the idea of employing violence if necessary, troops composed for the most part of foreign mercenaries being concentrated to this end around Paris and Versailles. Some partial riots had already taken place in Paris, and these assumed the form of a veritable insurrection when it was suddenly made known on the 11th of July that the King had dismissed Necker, who at this time was considered the only man capable of restoring the ruined finances of the kingdom, and of affording to the Constituent Assembly the political satisfaction which it craved.

On the 12th Camille Desmoulins harangued the people in the garden of the Palais Royal, and incited them to resist by armed force the threatened movement of reaction. The next day the mob invaded the Hotel des Invalides, and seized all the old guns, sabres, and pieces of cannon which were to be found, while at the same time artisans were busily engaged in manufacturing thousands of pikes. On the 14th

an angry and menacing crowd assembled in front of the Bastille.

This ancient stronghold, still formidable for defence, towered over the spot where the column of July now stands, and had long been used as a State prison.

To the popular mind it was a hated symbol of tyranny and despotism, and this sentiment explains the march to its gates of the mob at a moment when behind these no prisoner of note happened to be confined.

De Launay and his Swiss guards defended the fortress for several hours, and the assailants lost two hundred of their number before their attack was crowned with victory. They avenged their fallen comrades by murdering De Launay and his lieutenants, and began at once to dismantle the execrated walls.

By all these acts the King delivered himself into the hands of men who had just learnt how to compel his obedience, while he still listened to the warnings against these same men of his shortsighted and reactionary courtiers.

The provinces felt the countershock of the fall of the Bastille, and while in Paris the people had destroyed the symbol of royal despotism, in Burgundy and the Valley of the Rhone the peasants attacked and set fire to chateaux and convents, believing that by destroying all archives they would free themselves for good from the tyranny of feudal rights and dues.

The movement spread rapidly through the country, and the propertied classes, unable to defend themselves, adopted the simpler plan of voluntarily surrendering privileges of which they must otherwise be deprived by force.

Thus it happened that on the famous night of the 4th of August the Assembly witnessed a long procession of nobles and churchmen, who, fired by a noble impulse of enthusiasm and renunciation, had come of their own accord to abdicate their feudal rights, and to receive in return a promise of pecuniary indemnity.

But all this time the Court was obstinately bent upon resistance, and neither the Declaration of Rights, nor the defeat of the so-called English party in the Committee charged by the Assembly with the drafting of a Constitution, could disarm the hostility of the reactionary aristocrats.

Some insensates even tried to persuade the King, who had returned to Versailles for the summer, to summon foreign troops once more around him. A

royalist demonstration, manufactured by the same faction, took place on the 1st of October in the theatre at Versailles, when the white cockade was hoisted, and the tricolor—emblem of the new movement—trampled under foot.

The Parisians—already exasperated by famine consequent on two successive bad harvests—fell into a frenzy at this news, and a compact crowd of famished men and women marched to Versailles at the head of the helpless National Guards, forced their way into the palace, and obliged the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin to return on the 6th of October to Paris, whither the Assembly soon followed.

This time the Government was truly in thrall to the populace. The slightest riot became a matter of grave import, for exasperation grew steadily in the capital, where the populace every day saw fresh noble *émigrés* depart for the foreign courts, whither already, at the end of July, the King's nearest relatives had gone to seek assistance against the revolutionists.

The Revolution had been born only six months, yet already it had entered upon a new phase. Political and social merely in the beginning, it had now assumed a national and patriotic character, and in the light of these new sentiments the attitude of the King and the nobles, by giving rise to a suspicion not merely of retrogade tendencies, but also of high treason, intensified the popular irritation, and drove the Government into arbitrary acts of defence against the rising peril from without.

This was the origin of the various repressive

measures which culminated in the Reign of Terror. The idea of liberty, growing ever fainter, was gradually superseded by a Dictatorship and an excessive centralisation of authority, which, after serving the ends of the Committee of Public Salvation, resulted in a military despotism.

But events of which the germs were latent in the first months of the Revolution were only to develop fully later on, under the pressure of circumstances. Until nearly the end of 1790 the Assembly was occupied chiefly with the civil and military reforms required by the country, and the ground covered by these strenuous and fertile efforts was indeed of marvellous extent.

The division of France into departments, districts, cantons, and communes, decreed on the 16th of

Doubtless the reforms were carried too far, and local life was so effectually extinguished that, with a few exceptions, it has never recovered. Indignation at the abuses of the Guilds led to a total prohibition of all spontaneous associations, and this anomaly has not yet quite disappeared from the statute-book. The venality which had reigned in the law courts seemed so monstrous that it was decided to have only elective judges and to limit the period of their functions to ten years.

But in spite of these exaggerations, the reforms were certainly in harmony with the aspirations of the people, as is proved by the fact of their having survived the Revolution, and stamped France with the characteristics by which we know it to-day. The destruction of the nobility and clergy as privileged classes was rapidly achieved. Primogeniture and entail were abolished; the absolute equality of all citizens, nobles or others, in the eye of the law was proclaimed, and the obligation imposed upon parents to divide their property equally among all their children. As for the clergy, they were deprived of the monopoly of registry by which they had formerly been able to refuse to heretics the authentic proofs of their birth and marriage, and the municipality took over the right of issuing these certificates without any regard to differences in religious belief. Ecclesiastical vows were pronounced legally null and void, and the Church ceased to be a corporation holding property collectively.

One of the most sweeping and, socially speaking, momentous reforms was the reconstruction of the

whole fiscal system of France. The multiple vexatious taxes, such as *tailles*, tithes, excise, internal customs, were all swept away and replaced by three principal sources of revenue, that is, taxation of commerce and manufacture, the land tax, and income tax, or taxes on real and personal estate.

The revenue thus raised, however, was not sufficient to enable the Assembly to pay off the enormous debts contracted by the monarchy, and recourse consequently was had to what was known as "national treasure" (*biens nationaux*), or, in other words, the property of the clergy and of the emigrant nobles. The larger proportion of this was furnished by the Church, which owned vast lands, and these domains were placed "at the disposal of the nation" by a decree of the 2nd of December, 1789, on condition,

MIRABEAU.

proprietors, and on the other the eventual depreciation, far below their nominal value, of the "assignats" as soon as the necessities of the war plunged the Revolutionary Government into financial straits.

Up to the point now reached, the Assembly, however radical its measures, had certainly not outstripped the desires of the nation; but in decreeing the extinction of the clergy and nobility as privileged orders, had, on the contrary, given expression to the will of the constituencies.

But it was otherwise with the promulgation on the 12th of July, 1790, of a Civil Constitution of the Clergy, a measure which transgressed the limits of the Assembly's power and provoked in many places a resistance followed by civil war.

Protestants, especially English Protestants, must have a difficulty in realising the horror inspired in

Persecution from the Government and rebellion on the part of the people quickly resulted in the blunder of the Assembly—a blunder which was also the determining cause of Louis's great and final mistake.

As the tide of Revolution mounted, the King's difficulties increased. Public opinion and the decisions of the Assembly were alike influenced by the associations known as clubs which held periodical meetings in Paris. The originators of the Revolution, Sièyes, Lafayette, and others, composed the Eighty-nine Club, whose principles, however, were already outstripped by the Jacobins, consisting of such relatively moderate politicians as Lameth, Duport, and Barnave, who were soon to be reinforced and completely dominated by Robespierre; while the Cordeliers, led by Danton, were more uncompromising still.

The tone of the Press, directed by Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and the like, grew daily more dictatorial.

Riots broke out in all the principal towns, and even in some regiments, while, as a crowning stroke of fate, Mirabeau—the only man endowed with sufficient perspicacity to understand that the Revolution was escaping from all control and that the King should be brought to accept measures which might avert the imminent peril — Mirabeau died prematurely on the 2nd of April, 1791. Then, no longer able to cope with the situation; deprived of the help of Necker, who, feeling himself helpless, had resigned his office in September, 1790; conscious that each day further undermined the edifice of legitimate monarchy, and aggrieved as a conscientious Catholic

by that Civil Constitution of the Clergy from which he had vainly endeavoured to withhold his consent —Louis took a fatal and irrevocable resolution.

He determined to flee—to join his brother D'Artois and the Prince of Condé, who were already in Germany, and to push on negotiations with the Powers—Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, and Spain—who had been invited to intervene in the affairs of France.

The negotiations had been secret, but the French nation suspected and justly resented their existence.

The flight of the King on the 20th of June, 1791, changed suspicion into certainty. Louis, recognised and arrested at Varennes, was brought back under a special escort to Paris, where the Assembly at first suspended him from his royal functions, but, in the hope of coming to some satisfactory agreement, re-

of nobility, feudalism, hereditary functions and offices acquired for money, trade guilds and corporations. These being swept away, the Constitution then applied itself to the constitution and definition of new rights, some of which have been already described.

The remainder were liberty of the press, the right of assembly unarmed, compulsory provision for deserted children and the infirm poor, work for all the able-bodied, and gratuitous public instruction in all indispensable branches.

It was a noble programme full of generous intentions, but many years had to elapse before its realisation, and to this day some portions of it are still in abeyance.

As an instrument of government, the Constitution of 1791 reflects the needs and predominating tendencies of its time, but, equally, the extreme political inexperience of its authors.

It decrees that there shall be only one legislative Assembly, to be elected by all citizens paying a tax at least equal to three labour days, such citizens choosing electors of the second class, who were empowered to choose deputies.

The Assembly was to be elected for two years, during which time there could be no dissolution. All laws were to emanate in the first instance from this body alone, which could also declare war on the proposal of the King. The sovereign's person was inviolable, but he would be considered to have abdicated his functions if he quitted his kingdom without permission or led an army against the nation.

He named his ministers who were allowed to sit in the Chamber, but no deputy could hold office under the Crown while his election to the Assembly lasted, nor for two years following.

As to the Chamber, it possessed merely a right of temporary veto, and any constitutional measure voted by two consecutive Assemblies at an interval of four years was bound to become law.

Finally, judges, being elective, were independent of the Executive and Legislative bodies.

The defects of such a system are patent at the first glance.

That the sovereign—his office having become an object of suspicion—should be shorn of authority was an integral part of the Constitution, and may be regarded as necessitated by the circumstances of the

would last as to decree that no revision of the Constitution should be proposed before 1795 or effected before 1800. And yet just one year was to suffice for the destruction of the elaborate edifice!

The Assembly separated on the 30th of September, 1791, after embodying a final impulse of disinterestedness in the ordinance that none of its members should be eligible to the Legislative, by which decision it deprived the latter of the services of the few experienced men whom the first years of the Revolution had formed.

And the new Assembly having to deal with a weak ministry and a King whom the nation did not trust, immediately appointed permanent Commissions to discharge the various functions of government.

The Assembly was divided into three principal parties: namely the Feuillants (so called after a club wherein they held their meetings), who represented the old constitutional ideas and believed that the problems of the hour could be solved by imitating English institutions; the Montagnards, who formed what to-day would be called the Extreme Left, and were ready to establish their coveted Republic by violence if necessary; finally the Girondins, who counted Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné among their members and were for the time being in the ascendant, and who, although no Royalists, yet showed greater moderation and respect for legality than their rivals.

The Assembly began with two measures, the severity of which was rendered excusable by the growing sense of national peril.

The Nonjurant priests who would not subscribe to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy were deprived of their salaries, and the emigrants, who at Brussels and in the valley of the Rhine were stirring up a foreign invasion of France, were denounced as conspirators, whose property was to be seized for the benefit of the National Treasury.

And the King of Prussia and the Emperor Leopold, in the declaration of Pilnitz on the 27th of August, 1791, having proclaimed their intention of intervening to restore Louis XVI. to his former rights, the Assembly requested the King officially to warn these Powers to cease from their warlike preparations.

At this time there was no idea in France of starting on a career of European conquest. The only aspiration of the people was to have their liberty and in-

in accordance with the orders of the Assembly, he secretly incited his brother monarchs to despatch armed forces against France.

In March, 1792, he accepted a Girondin Ministry composed of such men as Servan, Dumouriez, and Roland, and solemnly declared war on the 20th of April against Leopold, while at the same time secretly sending messengers to encourage the advance of the Austrian army. This treasonable behaviour was divined by, rather than known to, the people, whose suspicions changed into certainty at the first defeat inflicted upon French arms. The Girondin Cabinet resigned on the refusal of Louis to sanction the decree of expulsion against the Nonjurant ecclesiastics, and was succeeded perforce by a ministry chosen from the feeble faction of the Feuillants; and popular passion, already excited, was further inflamed by the Manifesto, dated the 26th of July, in which the Duke of Brunswick, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian Army, announced that he was commissioned to restore the French sovereign to the full enjoyment of his rights.

Once already, on the 20th of June, an angry crowd had invaded the Tuileries and threatened the King, and on the 10th of August a second outbreak drove Louis to seek safety in the Assembly, from whence he passed to spend his last sad days in the Temple prison, and finally to meet death on the scaffold.

The populace was now master of Paris and the Government. The municipal officers, elected by the people and commanded by Danton, continued to

INGING THE MARSEILLAISE.

flatter the mob until the day when men even more violent than themselves supplanted them.

On the arrival of the news that Longwy and Verdun were occupied, the populace stormed the prisons and murdered nearly a thousand aristocrats and priests, thus inaugurating the Terror which was later to become a system of official government.

The Legislative Assembly was fully alive to the perils which threatened the frontier, and before proceeding even to the deposition of the King, it issued a proclamation calling volunteers to arms for the defence of the country.

Then it decided to dissolve itself, and to take steps for the convocation of a National Convention which should be invested with the full authority required to save France from her enemies. For the moment all talk about the division or equilibrium of governing powers was at an end. Patriotism was in the ascendant, and thousands of soldiers rallied round the flag. Raw recruits, enrolled among the fragments of the old army, met the Prussians at Valmy on the 30th of September, and drove them back from the eastern frontier, while a further victory at Jemmapes on the 8th of November conferred possession on France of the Low Countries, now known as Belgium.

Before the pressing needs of the hour but one thought predominated, that of forming a government strong enough to cope with foreign and domestic foes. This led, not as yet to the Dictatorship of one man, but to the tyranny of the Assembly. Foreign interference therefore had the threefold effect of overthrowing the monarchy, rousing the lust of conquest, and annihilating liberty in France.

II.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(*September* 20, 1792—*October* 26, 1795.)

SOME years later than the events just detailed, Sièyes, as spokesman of the very men who during the Terror shone by their absence and were remarkable chiefly for cowardice, chose to describe the National Convention in withering terms. It was a body, he said, of men "audacious without genius

the principles of the Revolution against the attacks of every crowned head in Europe.

The Convention destroyed itself, indeed, by sending many of its own members to the scaffold; but on the other hand it furnished extraordinary examples of courage, as when, for instance, Danton, condemned in his turn to the doom which he formerly pronounced on others, refused to fly, for the reason, as he alleged, that "a citizen does not carry his country with him on the soles of his feet."

And if foreign and domestic feuds absorbed the chief energies of the Convention, it still found time, in its innumerable committees, to accomplish an enormous amount of legislative work, wherein idealist conceptions mingled with practical aims, and which, chaotic and unfinished though it might be, yet laid the foundation of a genuine progress.

The Convention met on the 21st of September, 1792.

On the same day it decreed the abolition of royalty, but this was merely to kill the slain, for Louis was already a prisoner and of no further account in public eyes.

By this decree the Convention declared the will of the people to be the source of all constitutions, and the plebiscite necessarily sprang from the affirmation of this principle.

By this time the Girondin faction had lost all authority, and as external complications became more threatening, the Moderates, or so-called Party of the Plain, gave way before the increasing power of the ardent and audacious "Mountaineers."

Danton and Robespierre, destined a few months later to be at bitter enmity, united for the moment in demanding the trial of Louis XVI. On the 11th of December he was summoned to the bar of the

1793, not only ushered in the sanguinary Reign of Terror, but was an act of defiance towards the Coalition.

Already the crowned heads of Europe had been thrown into consternation by the undertaking of the National Convention to afford "help and sympathy to all nations struggling to recover their liberties" (Decree of the 19th of November, 1792); and now the execution of Louis seemed to threaten the life of every king, while the evident inclination of the Parisians to push their revolutionary propaganda beyond their own frontiers was not likely to reassure the timid or calm the perturbed.

On all sides preparations were made and negotiations begun towards repressing the dangerous movement.

Instead of waiting for the action of its enemies, the Convention preferred to anticipate it. So far, France had been at war only with Austria and Prussia, but in March and April hostilities were declared successively against England, Holland, and Spain. At the same time the whole Germanic Confederation made common cause with the enemies of the Republic.

Nor were foreign wars the only danger against which the Convention had to contend. For some months past the Western provinces, such as Lower Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, and La Vendée, had been in a state of agitation, caused by the outrage inflicted on the sentiment of Roman Catholicism, still so fervent in those provinces, by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and heightened by the exas-

peration of the loyalists at the execution of Louis XVI. It is from this period that dates the dreamy mysticism which we note as being the modern characteristic of Legitimist doctrines.

A terrible insurrection, headed by the nobles and the priests, broke out in the disaffected provinces where patriotism was still too feeble to allow of the populations acquiescing in the *levées en masse* which the Convention had ordered for the formation of its army.

No common energy was necessary to show a bold front to so many enemies, both foreign and domestic, and in this respect the Convention did not prove itself unequal to the task before it.

Neither the news that Tabago and Pondicherry had surrendered to the English, nor the graver defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden, followed by the treachery of this general who went over to the enemy, nor yet the invasion of the northern frontier availed to shake the courage of the governing body.

The measures necessary for forming and increasing the army were energetically pursued, and in a few weeks 120,000 men were enrolled and equipped, and while the Committee of General Security directed its attention to the discovery of "traitors" who, many of them innocent victims, were handed over to the revolutionary tribunals, the Committee of Public Salvation addressed itself entirely to the defence of the country against external foes.

A terrible famine meanwhile reigned throughout the land, and the Convention put the finishing touch to the state of siege which had been proclaimed for the whole of France, by draconian laws against monopo-

lists, and the establishment of a maximum tariff beyond which it was forbidden to sell articles of food.

MARIE ANTOINETTE.

This iron despotism was made excusable by the pressing peril of the hour, but its own abuses dis-

credited it. Suspicion and alarm, calumny and denunciation were rampant.

Since the trial of Louis XVI. the Mountain had regarded the Girondins as lacking in zeal, and it presently launched the further accusation of "federalism" and consequently high treason when the same party sought to extenuate to some extent the resistance shown to the new ideas by Bordeaux and Lyons. The Girondins also committed the fatal imprudence of requiring the Convention to put Marat on his trial.

This sinister personage, a journalist and a deputy, was accustomed daily to clamour for the execution of such nobles or priests as were still on French soil; but when brought himself before the Revolutionary Tribunal he was acquitted. The mob

but, armed with the terrible law against Suspects, it despatched emissaries to the provinces to superintend the imprisonments and executions which had been decreed. Before the close of the year the insurgents of the west had been driven back from the principal towns, Bordeaux and Lyons were pacified, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Jourdan had been appointed to the command of the Army of the North.

But the Queen, Marie Antoinette, all Girondin leaders, several generals suspected of treason or only of weakness, and many others too numerous to mention, had met their death on the scaffold.

The Mountain itself was breaking up into factions, and Robespierre, the predominant member of the Committee of Public Salvation, was accused by the partisans of Hébert of being too indulgent, and by the followers of Danton of being too despotic.

Robespierre defied both groups, and put Hébert and Danton to death within twelve days of one another, the first being executed on the 24th of March, and the second on the 5th of April, 1794. The chief partisans of these two leaders followed them to the scaffold, and during the weeks following on these events the Terror reached its maximum of intensity.

Such a system of government could not fail to destroy itself. Robespierre was incorruptible and austere, but his mind dwelt chiefly on abstractions, his nature was inexorably cruel, and he believed that to himself every action was permissible. Confident in the double support of the Jacobin Club and the Commune of Paris, he felt sure that the population

of the capital would long maintain him as master of the Convention.

But a day came at last when the Convention itself took alarm. The spectacle of so many falling heads filled the usually inert mass of deputies with doubts of their own safety.

When Robespierre on various public occasions proclaimed himself the high priest of the new Cult of the Supreme Being, his pretensions were met with ridicule; and when, intoxicated with the notion of his own omnipotence and incorruptibility, he committed the grave mistake of accusing Carnot and Cambon (absorbed as both were in defending their country and husbanding its finances) of treason, the public conscience rose in indignant revolt.

On the 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794) a majority at

been brought to the scaffold. Two peculiarities betray the state of mind of the authors of the document. True to humanitarian principles, they abolished the punishment of death for all non-political offences, the stipulated exception being rendered necessary, as they conceived, by the conditions of the moment; and impressed with the hindrances to national defence which arose from party spirit, they naïvely put into the mouth of the illustrious Condorcet, who introduced the Bill, the axiom that "Constitutions founded on an equilibrium of powers presuppose the existence of two parties, while a cardinal principle of any Republic is to recognise none."

As a solution for all problems, they suggested the formation of a single Assembly, to be elected by all citizens over twenty-one years, without property or money qualifications of any sort, and the constitution by the same electorate of an Executive consisting of seven ministers and a secretary, one-half of whom were to retire every year. The framers of this measure were convinced that the frequency of elections would sufficiently restrain any attempt at despotism on the part of the Single Assembly, but as an additional security they introduced universal suffrage, which thus made its first appearance in France, and accorded to the electors the right not only of directly voting all constitutional laws, but also of forcing the Legislative, on occasion, to revise any ordinary law.

The realisation of these imposing conceptions of government was prevented by the execution of the Girondin deputies. But even before being involved in the destruction of its authors, the new Constitution

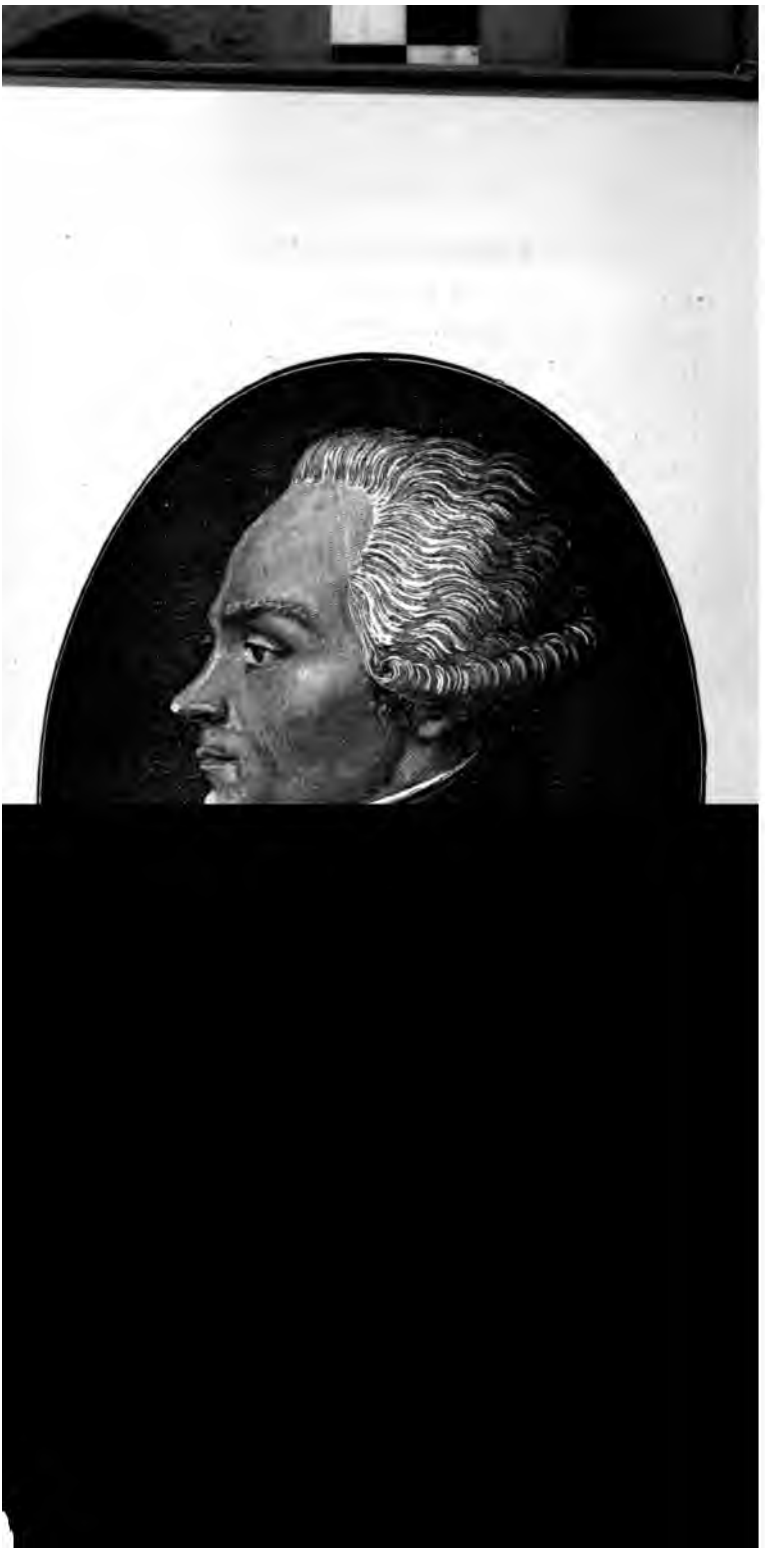
TION OF MARAT.

had been denounced by the Jacobins as anti-democratic, fatal to liberty, and imbued with federalism. It was anti-democratic in that it permitted the popular referendum for only a certain number of laws; it was fatal to liberty, because making the Executive too independent of the Assembly; it was tainted with federalism for the reason that deputies were to be elected according to their departments, instead of representing, as is proper, the whole of the national territory.

The Mountain had no sooner freed itself from its enemies than it proceeded to frame a Constitution on contrary lines to the above. In this second product of the spirit of the age, all laws without exception were to be submitted to the ratification of the multitude, or at least were to be taken as having received this, if within forty days of their promulgation no general ballot were demanded by a specified number of electors.

The Legislative was to choose the Executive from a list of candidates drawn up by the electorate, one for each department, and the Legislative Assembly itself was to be elected for one year only.

Not merely the right, but the duty of the nation to rise against an oppressive government was distinctly formulated; while, by a subtle paradox, Robespierre, who possessed to so finished a degree the art of despatching his adversaries to a better world, moved that deputies should have the privilege of not being punished for their opinions. These particulars suffice to give a correct idea of the practical and philosophical value of this new political instrument.



Its defects, indeed, were so patent that the Jacobins had hardly promulgated it (in June, 1793) before its application was adjourned. Time, in fact, was wanting just then for experiments in constitutional machinery.

The paramount need of the moment was to defend the national territory, and to this end all power had to be concentrated in a few capable hands. A Committee of Public Salvation was formed, and did not prove inadequate to the task imposed upon it. France, indeed, had good reason to be proud of its achievements, and could draw from it some consolation for the excesses of the Terror.

The Allied Armies, commanded as they were by men whose interests were not identical, had failed perhaps to take full advantage of their first successes, and while they delayed their onward march the troops of the Republic had leisure to organise themselves.

Carnot from Paris directed the advance, and the soldiers, led by generals who only the day before had been simple privates or non-commissioned officers, found in the fervour of their patriotism the strength to support unexampled privations, and in a short time not only to re-conquer the positions which had been lost, but even to take the offensive. Jourdan's victory over the Austrians at Wattignies put an end to the blockade of Maubeuge (October 15, 1793); while the success of Hoche and Pichegru at Weissenburg on the following 27th of December drove the Allies back upon the right bank of the Rhine.

Almost at the same time the troops despatched to Vendée, under Westermann, Marceau, and Kléber, having suppressed the insurrection there, were free to

reinforce the armies on the frontiers; and in the spring of 1794 a vigorous effort transported the field of battle outside French territory. The victory of Fleurus on the 28th of June restored a free entry into the Netherlands to the Republicans, while by the battle of Saorgio on the 28th of April and that of Boulou on the 1st of May, the Piedmontese were driven across the Alps and the Spaniards forced to return to their own peninsula.

By the end of 1794 Holland was occupied, North Germany threatened, and Spain had been invaded in two places simultaneously—Catalonia, namely, and Guipuzcoa.

We see, then, that if the Convention had overthrown Robespierre, it had at any rate preserved the men who could usefully defend their country, as well

The success of the French arms frightened various Powers into an attempt at treaty. Spain, knowing that peace could be purchased on easy terms, offered to cede to France the part of San Domingo which belonged to her; while Prussia, not at all desirous of being infected by the spirit of revolutionary propaganda, and having just acquired Warsaw in the partition of Poland, was disposed to hand over the left bank of the Rhine.

These terms were agreed to in the treaties of Bâle (5th of April and 28th of July, 1795), and France, delivered from two enemies, with a government recognised at last by two European courts, had further cause for exultation in the news that on the 21st of July, at Quiberon, Hoche had destroyed a band of *émigrés* whom England had endeavoured to disembark in the western provinces, with the object of reviving the dying flame of insurrection.

In spite, therefore, of defeats by sea and the loss of the islands held by the French in the West Indies and the Mediterranean, the National Convention had some reason to be proud of the work it had done on the Continent, when, on the 26th of October, 1795, the moment came for it to declare that its mission was finished.

The task of the Convention had not been limited to the preparation and direction of the war; for if in plenary assembly the subjects principally discussed had been proscriptions or military measures, the committees had accomplished an amount of legislative work which at this distance of time appears surprisingly great.

It is true that this activity did not yield many positive results at the moment, for if the Convention, in the midst of war's alarms and political excesses, did actually found the public educational system which still flourishes in France, and establish the principal scientific institutions,[1] on the other hand it had to limit itself in many instances to the accumulation of materials which were utilised by its successors. To the Convention is also due the preparatory work which resulted later in the celebrated codes of Napoleon, and bestowed legislative unity, for civil and criminal causes alike, upon the whole of France; while to the same source must be ascribed that great Book of the Public Debt which forms the foundation of French national credit.

The Convention, before dissolving, left, in the shape

far men still were from understanding the functions of a normal government.

The Constitution of the Year III., which laid down rules for the organisation of political power and the exercise of public functions in France from November 1795 to 1799, is a curious mixture of reaction against the political abuses of the preceding years and theoretical speculation of the sort which disdains the teaching of experience. The avowed intention of the chief framers of this document (Boissy d'Anglas, Thibaudeau, La Reveillère, Daunou, &c.) is to establish "a government by the best"—and to this end they reject all direct intervention of the people in the work of legislation, and seek, by means of a rating qualification for voters, to guarantee Elective Assemblies from any introduction of ignorant and unstable elements.

Experience has convinced them of the dangers of a Single Chamber, and they have insensibly returned to the idea of counterpoise and equilibrium. They consequently suggest the creation of a Council of Five Hundred which shall propose laws, and a Council of Ancients, of half the above number, whose function would consist in accepting or rejecting *en bloc*, without amendments in detail, the various measures elaborated by the first-named body.

The evil of debating under pressure from the mob, or allowing the latter to intervene directly in the business of administration, is guarded against triply by limiting the number of strangers to be admitted to the Chamber during discussion, by ordering that no troops shall be stationed nearer than a radius of six myriameters from the Chamber, and by denying

to the Legislature the power of instituting permanent committees.

Great efforts are made to preserve full liberty of individual action, but the right of meeting is regarded with much suspicion, and very severe measures are taken against *émigrés*.

The weakest point of this Constitution, that from which conflict was bound to arise, lay in the obstinate and superstitious veneration which its authors felt for the principle of the separation of powers. They proclaim the absolute inability of members of the Legislature to perform any executive functions, and stipulate that the two powers shall remain almost totally independent of one another.

The two Legislative Councils are to be elected in the second degree by all citizens of the age of twenty-

of forty. Once elected, they cease, so to speak, to have any contact with the Legislative body. They cannot dissolve it, nor be dismissed by it. They name the ministers, but are under no obligation to choose them from among persons who are agreeable to the majority. They are the supreme executive agents, yet may be refused the means of executing anything; and as the Directory is renewed infinitely more slowly than either of the Councils, and by the fact of its merely partial renewal cannot always be held to represent faithfully the actual state of public opinion, it will be seen that the result could only be a deadlock from which the one possible issue lay in force.

Before the Constitution of the Year III. had begun to work, a significant incident revealed the dangers which lay ahead, and made it evident that questionable means would have to be employed to avert them.

In spite of the relief caused by the fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor, the memory of the Terror was so vivid, and the burdens of every sort consequent on the war were so heavy, that already a tide of reaction had set in.

The Royalists raised their heads once more. In Paris itself they were assured of help from some sections of the National Guard, and had succeeded in winning General Pichegru to their side.

They believed that in the next elections to the Councils they would have a majority, and that the merest trifle would then lead to a restoration of the Monarchy.

But the Convention was not disposed to submit its

work—the whole patrimony of the revolution so to speak — and the fate of the holders of national property to the chances of the urns, and it consequently decided on a step more hazardous than constitutional.

That is to say, it ordered the electors to choose two-thirds of the members of the new Councils from among the outgoing deputies of the National Convention, and decreed that previously to the election of the remaining third, the Directory should be reconstituted. By this device the spirit which had inspired the Convention was given at least one year's new lease of existence in the Councils, and a majority of Jacobins assured to the Executive for three years.

The disappointed Royalists determined to delay

III.

THE DIRECTORY.

(*October* 27, 1795—*November* 10, 1799.)

SETTING aside the complications which were soon to arise in the internal policy of France,[1] the general situation was far from being brilliant when the new Government entered upon its functions.

The excessive emission of assignats for the needs of the Treasury had severely shaken public credit; the laws regarding monopolists (*accapareurs*) and the price of provisions had ruined commerce and industry; while the peace with Prussia and Spain having only partially restricted the theatre of war, the continuance of hostilities was soon to result in foreign enterprises undertaken to provide the French soldiers with the food and money which their own land could no longer afford them. The impulse to foreign conquest sprang, then, from economical considerations, while at the same time appearing as the only method by which the remaining members of the Coalition could be brought to terms.

[1] It must be remembered that in virtue of the prevailing form of administration, the Directory had little control over the functionaries in the Departments, who were elected by their fellow-citizens.

Three generals, who had already become famous, commanded the principal armies: Moreau, on the Rhine; Jourdan, in the north; Hoche, in the west. One of the first acts of the Directory was to appoint a fourth general to command the army of the Alps, which had been deplorably inactive for some months past. Nobody seemed so fitted for the post as the hero of the 13th Vendémiaire, General Bonaparte, who had also distinguished himself as a captain of artillery at the siege of Toulon.

Carnot, who, in becoming a member of the Executive, had not ceased to be organiser-in-chief of the campaigns, had determined that the year 1796 should be employed in attacking Austria and by the invasion of Cisleithania, in destroying, if possible, the chief continental centre of the Coalition.

NAPOLEON AT ARCOLA.
(*From the painting by Gros.*)

ing Jourdan at Wurzburg (September 3) and driving him across the Lahn; after which, turning upon Moreau, he forced him to withdraw as far as Alsace.

In Italy, on the contrary, Bonaparte, electrifying his troops by the promise that in the Peninsula they should find the plenty of which they had so long been deprived, carried off one brilliant victory after another. At Montenotte on the 12th of April he cut off the enemy's line of march, on the 14th beat the Piedmontese at Millesimo, and defeated the Austrians at Dego on the 15th. Pursuing the Piedmontese along the road to Turin, he beat them once again on the 26th of April at Mondovi, and forced them on the 28th to sign the armistice of Cherasco. This truce soon became a treaty of peace which (signed on the 3rd of June) not only assured to France the possession

to send it along the two sides of the Lake of Garda into Italy. Bonaparte, abandoning Mantua, took up a position on the Mincio which enabled him to beat the two wings of the Austrians separately at Lonato and at Castiglione on the 3rd and 5th of August respectively, after which, advancing upon Roveredo and Trent, he took Wurmser in the rear in the valley of the Brenta, defeated him at Bassano and San Giorgio (on the 8th and 15th of September), and shut him up in Mantua, of which the siege recommenced.

A little later, in October, news came that the island of Corsica had been retaken from the British by a force which Bonaparte had despatched from Leghorn.

Yet a third army was brought by Austria into the field, under the command of Alvinzi; but Bonaparte, unsurpassably resourceful, and obeyed by men in whom he had inspired a superhuman enthusiasm, was equal to all the difficulties of the situation. At Arcola on the 15th of November, at Verona on the 13th of January, 1797, at Rivoli, at San Giorgio again, and at La Favorita (14th, 15th, and 16th of January), his success was such that the Austrians were again driven back; and Wurmser, still blockaded in Mantua, had finally, on the 2nd of January, to capitulate.

Bonaparte, having now a few days of leisure, took advantage of it to begin organising the provinces which he had occupied.

The Duke of Modena and the Pope having deserted him on the approach of Alvinzi, he dethroned the former and turned his state into a Republic, adding to it the Romagna and the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna, which the Pope had ceded in the peace of

Tolentino (10th of February). Following his peculiar instinct of repression and domination, Bonaparte next proceeded to found the Republics of Venice and Liguria.

The Archduke Charles, delivered from Jourdan and Moreau, was now advancing with a fourth Austrian army.

Bonaparte sent forward his lieutenants Joubert and Masséna, who respectively reached the Brenner (by the Tyrol) and the heights of Tarvis, while the conqueror himself marched upon Klagenfurt, forced the passage of Neumarkt, and, on the 7th of April, entered Léoben. At the same time the French forces in Germany resumed the offensive, Hoche, who had succeeded Joubert, crossing the Rhine and fighting five battles in four days. Three of these combats

In the beginning of its career the Directory had met with some success. Hoche had been able to suppress a new attempt of the Royalists, encouraged by England to rise, and the chiefs of the movement, Charette and Stofflet, had been shot (February—March, 1796); while in Paris Babœuf's abortive Communist agitation resulted also in the death of that leader (May, 1796). But, generally speaking, the Government and the police had little authority throughout France. Bands of brigands infested the south and west, and the Directory, with the feeble local powers conferred on it by the Convention, was ill able to cope with these disorders.

The prolonged war had completed the ruin of the Treasury and the destruction of commerce, in spite of the sums—some millions of francs—which Bonaparte sent periodically from Italy. Moreover, the country was beginning to weary of the enormous strain which had been imposed on it by circumstances. A gambling fever, a mania for speculation, and a general depravation of morals spread everywhere, the regions of government not excepted, and more than one exalted personage was already noted for the dissoluteness and venality of his character.

Such a state of things was favourable to the designs of the Royalists. The son of Louis XVI., whom his followers called Louis XVII., had died in 1795 in the prison of the Temple; and the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, later known as Louis XVIII., was endeavouring, in the country whither he had fled at the outbreak of the Revo-

lution, to gather up the threads of a vast Royalist conspiracy.

Emigrants poured back into France, and their mere presence there was a menace to the *beati possidentes* of national property. A Royalist association, whose action extended all over France, had its headquarters in Paris, and was known under the name of Clichy.

When the Legislative Assembly was partially renewed in the Year V., a sufficient number of Royalists were elected to make General Pichegru President of the Council of Five Hundred, and to include another reactionary, Barthélemy, in the Executive. The colleagues of the latter, alarmed at the strength of the tide of reaction, summoned a veritable army to the capital under the com-

With Carnot departed the chief organiser and moving spirit of the patriotic campaigns. And an evil fate decreed that almost simultaneously a premature death should abruptly carry off General Hoche, who had the command on the Rhine, and was the only officer whose military renown approached that of Bonaparte and might, at a given moment, have controlled the Corsican's ambition.

It seemed, then, that at the very hour when the Directory had returned to revolutionary methods, France was deprived of the two men who had hitherto contributed to her exterior strength. The coincidence was the more unfortunate that the Directory, in order to justify its recent acts and to consolidate its authority, was inevitably led to foreign war as a means of diverting the public mind from internal affairs, and as a pretext for continuing the policy of the National Convention.

From this date, then, the war, which up to 1795 had been purely defensive, and in 1796 only so far offensive as was required for the purpose of resisting Austria, became an instrument of domination and conquest, and a means of replenishing the French treasury by the indemnities wrung from the countries which were invaded. And this character the war maintained until 1814.

True to its new principle, the Directory broke off the negotiations proceeding at Lille with England, and would have welcomed a similar termination to the conditions by which Bonaparte was endeavouring in Italy to transform the preliminaries of Léoben into a treaty of peace.

But Bonaparte, in whom the desire for supreme power was developing itself, felt that his renown among the masses would be all the greater if he could conclude a brilliant peace on the morrow of his stupendous victories. Moreover, peace with Austria would leave him free to carry on military operations against the only enemy of France which was still uncrushed—in other words, Great Britain.

Consequently, against the orders of the Directory, which opposed the cession of Venice to the Austrians, Bonaparte, on October 17, 1797, signed the treaty of Campo Formio.

By the terms of this peace, Austria gave Belgium to France, and admitted the latter's claim to the left bank of the Rhine and the Ionian Islands. Austria

plan was the first visible sign the conqueror had yet given of that wild and exuberant imagination which was ultimately to lead him, and France in his train, to Baylen, to Moscow, and to Waterloo.

The Directory allowed itself to be persuaded by its famous general, all the more that it felt that there might be some prudence in removing so extraordinary a man from France.

The army left Toulon on May 19, 1798, and success crowned the first attempts of the brilliant leader. Malta was taken, in passing, on the 11th of June, Alexandria occupied on the 2nd of July, Cairo on the 23rd; and while on the one hand Bonaparte drove away the Mamelukes, who had advanced to prevent his march, on the other he set up a government in harmony with local customs, and appointed men of learning to study the history and science of the country.

But Fortune soon ceased to smile on the great commander. On the 1st of August, the fleet which had brought him, and was commanded by Admiral Brueys, was surprised and destroyed at Aboukir by Nelson, and Bonaparte, cut off from his means of communication by sea, had perforce to seek an issue in *terra firma*. Towards the south he established outposts at the cataracts of Syène (Assouan), and simultaneously marching towards Syria, he reached Gaza and Jaffa, and defeated the Turks at Mount Thabor on April 16, 1799; but owing to the want of provisions and heavy artillery, he failed in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre on the 21st of May. Forced to re-conduct his exhausted and plague-stricken troops

into Egypt, he again beat the Ottomans, on the 25th of July, at Aboukir; but being now insufficiently provided with men and war material, and learning that things were going badly in Europe, he left the fragments of his force under the command of Kléber, and, embarking alone on a frigate, he reached the coast of France on the 8th of October, to find a serious state of affairs indeed.

The Directory, too weak for the critical position in which it found itself, alternated in its conduct between violence and pusillanimity. At one moment, to relieve the drain on the exhausted exchequer, it carried through an operation which, under the pompous title of "Consolidation of the Third," was really a declaration of bankruptcy, since it meant paying two-thirds of the public debt in depreciated paper notes, and keeping only the interest of the surplus for the *Grand Livre.*

At another moment it sought to paralyse the growing opposition among the public to its measures by summarily annulling the regular elections on the 22nd Floréal = May 11, 1798. One day the Government decreed a forced loan from the rich; a little later it established compulsory military service for all Frenchmen aged from twenty to twenty-five years. It displeased everybody at home and abroad. Its attacks on the temporal power of the Pope, the exactions of its representatives in Holland, at Genoa, and Milan, the quarrelsome and dissolute conduct of its members—all combined to render the other Powers uneasy and to alienate the French people, who, after having hailed the Revolution as

an era of liberation, began to find their new masters more insupportable than the old.

Little by little the excesses of the Government disgusted public opinion in Europe, and brought those who had first sympathised with the new France to take sides with the Powers who were now thirsting to retrieve their own disasters.

In March, 1799, at the instigation of Pitt, a second coalition was formed against France. It was more formidable than its predecessor, as, in addition to the old members, it included Russia and Turkey; and it was also more dangerous, for the double reason that the allied armies could now count on public support in their own countries, and that the common foe was less enthusiastic and less energetic than in 1792.

The campaign began with some partial successes

defeated and killed at Novi on the 15th of August; and not only was Italy quite lost to France, but France itself was threatened with a new invasion.

In two other places fate was kinder to the French arms, for Brune drove back a force of English and Russians who had endeavoured to land at Bergen, in Belgium (September 19, 1799); while Masséna succeeded in detaching the Muscovite from the Coalition, after inflicting on him a crushing defeat at Zurich on the 25th and 26th of September of the same year.

But although these successes staved off the imminent invasion, they could not rehabilitate the Directory in the eyes of the public. The Government was accused, not entirely without reason, of having destroyed, through its ineptitude, the magnificent advantages which France had obtained by the treaty of Campo Formio; and the Councils, revolting in their turn, forced three members of the Directory to send in their resignation (30th Prairial = June 18, 1799). The ruin of the Directory was now as complete as had been that of the Legislative on the 18th Fructidor and 22nd Floréal.

Not one of the powers instituted by the Constitution of the Year III. still existed: all that survived was a passionate desire to see order succeed to anarchy, and to save the social gains of the Revolution from the dangers of a monarchical restoration.

Bonaparte returned to Paris at the very moment when this state of things had reached its most critical point. He was hardly on the spot before the general voice entreated him to put an end to a situation so

lamentable in itself, and so dangerous to national security. All parties united in this appeal: Sièyes, who, although recently elected a member of the Directory, could not forgive the authors of the Constitution for having neglected his advice as to the reorganisation of France; the Jacobins, who preferred the sword of revolution to a return of the ancient dynasty; the Moderates, who, fearing the effect of a Restoration upon the holders of national property and trembling lest the civil reforms should be reversed, were willing temporarily to sacrifice their liberal theories for the preservation of the principle of equality; the Royalists, who were simple enough to think that Bonaparte would be satisfied to play the part of Monk by immediately offering the crown to Louis XVIII.—all, in short, were of one mind. All urged Bonaparte to conspire against the Constitution; while he, although willing enough to further their views in this respect, took care to be bound to no faction.

When by the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799) he caused the Council of Five Hundred to be dissolved by his grenadiers, he could number among his accomplices several members of the Directory and the majority of the Council of Ancients, and was willing for the moment to assume only the title of Consul, and that conjointly with two others.

But, in reality, it was his own will, and his alone, which was now to be imposed on France, and the despotism thus inaugurated shone with extraordinary splendour for a while, only to leave the French nation at last enfeebled and despoiled.

IV.

THE CONSULATE.

(*November* 10, 1799—*May* 17, 1804.)

ON the 25th of July, 1795, during the discussion in the National Convention of the Constitution of the Year III., Sièyes, the most thorough-going metaphysician, among those who have studied constitutional questions, ever known to the world, proposed a counter-project, wherein may be found the germ of all the principles underlying the Napoleonic form of government. It is not easy to follow the celebrated philosopher through the labyrinth of his abstract speculations, but his ideas merit notice both because of the date to which they belong, and because of the colour which they were made to give later to the Dictatorship.

"Unity of power," said Sièyes, "leads to despotism: division, to anarchy. Some method of conciliating the two must be found. If the principle of equilibrium be adopted, there is perpetual war between the Executive and the Chamber of Representatives; but there remains another plan, that, to wit, of so organising unity of power that the Chamber may be the arbiter between the Government and the Opposition. Direct govern-

ment by the people is an absurdity. A people desirous of obtaining more liberty should have itself represented in as many directions as possible, but must take care not to give a plurality of representative offices to one person. The national will may be expressed in four different departments of thoughts, for each of which it requires a separate organ or depository—namely, a Constitutional body, who will act as guardian of the fundamental charter; a reformatory Tribunate, charged to interpret popular opinion to the Legislature; an Executive, consisting of a Council of State, which will appoint ministers and draft projects of law; and, finally, a Legislative Assembly, which shall possess no initiative, but be simply there to pronounce a final judgment after having listened to the *pro et contra* statements of the Executive and the

fertile inventor now made a fresh suggestion. "Confidence," he announced, "should come from below, authority from above." And to apply this maxim he propounded a scheme by which the electors, instead of voting for their representatives, should simply draw up a list of eligible persons, among whom the Government might then name the members of the different assemblies. And in order to ensure the permanence of the revolutionary spirit, Sièyes decreed that all persons who had discharged public functions since 1789 should be included in these lists, and that the lists themselves should not be revised for ten years. Evidently no better means could be imagined for guarding against abrupt changes of opinion, and assuring the exercise of power, in all its shapes, to those who had created the Revolution or had profited by it.

Members of the Tribunate and the Legislative Chamber, to whom Sièyes attributed the same functions as in his project of 1795, were to be appointed by a College of Conservators, composed of one hundred life members, all in possession of wealth, who were, in the first instance, to be chosen jointly by Sièyes and Bonaparte, and afterwards to be recruited by co-option.

This college—a mere oligarchy—had also another mission, which was to designate a "Grand Elector," exclusively empowered to appoint a consul for foreign affairs and another for home affairs, both of whom were to choose a council of state and corresponding ministers. National functionaries were to name the officials for the departments, and these, in their turn,

had to appoint officials for the communes, all being alike chosen from the list of eligibles to which reference has already been made.

The whole of this curious mechanism was lacking in a stable foundation, being anti-democratic in the sense that the exercise of the rights of electors was reduced to a simple formality, while the monarchical principle was vitiated by the appointment of the Grand Elector, "the fatted pig" (*le porc à l'engrais*), as Bonaparte called him, who existed only for the creation of consuls, and might be deprived of his functions by the College of Conservators the moment his action displeased them. Such as the system was, it did not please Bonaparte, who found it too complicated and likely to interfere with his pretensions. He therefore borrowed from it only as much as

chief, he proceeded to reduce the Constitution to a question of pure form.

Neither desiring for himself, nor being willing to confer on another, the pompous, but inefficient, functions of a Grand Elector, he simply suppressed that office.

He allotted to himself the title of First Consul for ten years, and, while accepting Cambacérès and Lebrun as colleagues, took care not to give them any but a consultative voice in affairs. He appointed Sièyes President of the College of Conservators, of which the name was changed to Senate, and took measures for admitting to that assembly only men devoted to himself, while at the same time decreeing that it should be recruited exclusively from a triple list of candidates to be drawn up respectively by the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Government. He kept the Tribunate, but denied it the right of initiating any law, and limited its office to the expression of pious hopes. He also kept the Legislative Chamber, but deprived it of the power of discussion, and left it only the right of silently voting laws after hearing them explained by delegates from the Council of State and the Tribunate. Then, as the system of lists of eligibles, ingenious as it was, still restricted his power overmuch, he determined that the first appointments of deputies and functionaries should be made independently of any lists, and that these should only be drawn up by the electors one year after the establishment of the new government, and should be revised only once in three years.

Naturally there was no longer any question of constituting permanent assemblies: the sessions were to be simply for four months of each year. No time was wasted, either, in enumerating the rights of citizens. Inviolability of domicile, individual liberty, and the right of petition were, indeed, briefly mentioned, but accompanying them was the ominous declaration that in periods of revolt or trouble even this simulacrum of a Constitution might be suspended.

The Constitution of the Year VIII., thus submitted to popular ratification, had, nevertheless, a high-sounding style. "It is founded," said its preamble, "on the real principles of representative government and the sacred rights of property, equality, and liberty. . . . Citizens, the Revolution, bound to the principles from which it started, is

imperious Dictator. "The Senate, the Legislative Chamber, the Tribunate," wrote Thibaudeau, "were for Bonaparte only instruments to which he was to give the tone, printing-presses intended to reproduce exactly the thoughts which he communicated to them, so that they might receive the stamp of legality and be put into circulation."

From the very beginning the Senate showed itself servile, sanctioning decrees of exile in its administrative capacity, and in its *Senatus-Consultes* allowing all kinds of restrictions to be introduced into the Constitution. The Tribunate showed signs of independence, only to find itself destroyed, and the Legislative Chamber, dumb though it was, had yet to submit to arbitrary decrees which were intended to enslave it still further. Gradually the habit arose even of dispensing with the Chamber for certain laws which were elaborated, under the form of regulations, by the Council of State. This body was especially favoured by Bonaparte, and in its presence he one day re-stated, in yet clearer terms, the aphorism which he had emitted in 1797: "The present Government is representative of the sovereign people: there can be no opposition to the sovereign."

Of such an evolution as we have described, the last stage could only be the suppression of all the forms instituted by the Constitution itself, and was the point at which Bonaparte eventually arrived.

A new administrative organisation was the necessary corollary of the new political constitution. The Revolution, in replacing the old provincial limits by departments, had deprived the central Government of

almost all authority, and handed over local administration to functionaries elected by the populations of the district. Bonaparte changed all this, and, by the law of the 28th Pluviose, Year VIII., he took care to have himself represented in the smallest division by an official of his own choice. In the department he placed a Prefect, in the *arrondissement* a Sub-Prefect, in the commune a Mayor, all assisted by Councils—a Council for the Prefecture (*Conseil-Général*), a Council for the *arrondissement*, a Municipal Council for the Mayor; every one of which bodies, like the so-called political assemblies, were composed of Government nominees, who had no power to decide anything, but could only express hopes of which the central authority took what notice it chose.

The *arrondissement* became the centre of local

introduced into the administrative machinery of the Year VIII.[1]

Armed with such a powerful weapon of reform, Bonaparte was soon able to restore public order, and, with security, prosperity also began to revive. The finances were reorganised and the Bank of France established, thus restoring some elasticity to the treasury in spite of the continuation of foreign war. Public works were resumed, agriculture was stimulated by the recent redistribution of property in land, industrial enterprise expanded with the demand for the necessaries of life, which, by reason of the war, could not be imported, and commerce was born again, so that at last the astonished country became aware of a general comfort to which it had long been a stranger.

The Council of State, meanwhile, was actively preparing the Codes which were to confer on France a long-desired unity of legislation. The First Consul was taking measures to create a new nobility by the foundation of the Order of the Legion of Honour, which was to recompense eminent services both in military and civil life; and he also sought to instil his own ideals into future generations by founding the University of France, which, organised on a basis at once military and monastic, became the central authority for all educational establishments, even private ones being forced to send up their pupils for the official examinations. Bonaparte's inexhaustible

[1] For further details on this subject and French legislation generally, see my work written in collaboration with Mr. Paul Peter, "France As It Is," published in 1888 by Cassell & Co.

energy busied itself with everything in turn; the future was to him a matter of as great moment as the present, and if his domineering temperament asserted itself in each one of his achievements, it is at least impossible to deny that he left an ineffaceable stamp upon the country whose destinies he now controlled according as his sovereign caprice suggested.

In some of his processes of national reconstruction the conqueror showed a very liberal mind. He repressed indeed, with rigour, an attempt at insurrection of the Royalists of Vendée (January, 1800), and while suppressing a great number of newspapers, established a strict censorship for the rest; but on the other hand his first care had been to recall all who had been proscribed under the Directory, to restore their liberty to the Nonjurant priests who

Clergy. The Republic no longer paid a salary to any priest, or provided any place of meeting for religious worship (Law of the 3rd Ventose, Year III. = January 21, 1795). But this liberty was more theoretical than real, for the faithful could not fall, from one day to another, into the habit of providing for the expenses of their own church services; the priests, often objects of political suspicion, were hampered in the discharge of their duties; and it followed that in many communes religious rites were altogether in abeyance. Bonaparte determined to revive them everywhere. By the Concordat of the 15th of July, 1801, concluded with Pope Pius VII., the French Government undertook to pay salaries to all priests and bishops, and by this measure won the gratitude of the Catholic population.[1]

In the universal joy at this restoration of religious peace, certain tendencies of the Concordat, and certain conditions accompanying its promulgation, escaped notice.

The Government, for instance, reserved to itself the right of appointing archbishops and bishops, subject only to the canonical law of the Pope, and decreed a whole series of rules by which the clergy, like the University, were reduced to being an instrument of domination in the hands of the despot.

All these reforms were not carried through without offending some prejudices, and rousing some resistance even among the docile and impotent bodies

[1] A similar undertaking was entered into with regard to Protestants and Jews. So that in France the ministers of three religions are paid by the State.

created by the Constitution of the Year VIII.; but Bonaparte overcame these obstacles with the utmost facility. He began, in 1802, by deciding that the first partial renewals of the Legislative and the Tribunate, instead of being performed by lot, should be accomplished by simply naming the outgoing members—a highly practical measure, by which he easily got rid of his adversaries, Daunou, Benjamin Constant, Chénier, and the rest. But even this did not satisfy him. In the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 16th Thermidor, Year X. (August 2, 1802), Bonaparte had himself proclaimed Consul for life, with the right of naming his successor; he reduced the number of members of the Tribunate; decreed that the dates for the sessions of the Legislative Assembly should cease to be fixed, and that diplomatic treaties should no longer be

On only one point was it deemed necessary to have recourse to the plebiscite. Bonaparte was acclaimed Consul for life by three millions and a half of votes out of four millions and a half of electors.

How was it possible to refuse to such a ruler anything that he wanted, even though it were the abdication from its functions of a whole nation and the cessation of all political life? While restoring public order, was he not also recalling victory to the French flag? On coming to power he had made offers of peace to Germany and to England, but these two powers (and particularly the last named), who believed France to be exhausted, haughtily refused. A new military enterprise had therefore become necessary, and it was crowned with success.

Moreau was commanding the French forces in Germany, Masséna in Italy. The latter, with a handful of worn-out soldiers, shut himself up in Genoa, and succeeded during two months in keeping at bay 120,000 Austrians under Mélas. Moreau, marching upon Schaffhausen, defeated Kray at Stockach, at Engen, and at Moeskirch (May 3–5, 1800), driving him behind the fortifications of Ulm.

Bonaparte, at the head of an improvised army, crossed the St. Bernard on the 15th of May, in the teeth of numberless difficulties, and cut off the communications of Mélas with Austria. Surprised by this bold manœuvre, Mélas tried to break through the French lines; but he was repulsed by Bonaparte's advanced guard at Montebello on the 9th of June,

then beaten at Piacenza, and finally defeated with crushing effect at Marengo on the 14th of June, after having twice held victory within his grasp, and being forced to yield at last only when Desaix arrived unexpectedly on the field of battle.

Moreau on his side was not idle, having carried off a victory at Hochstadt and advanced as far as Munich.

Bonaparte, in order to complete his enterprise and hasten the conclusion of peace, determined, against the custom of the time, upon a winter campaign. In Italy, Brune marched towards the Adige, while Macdonald turned the flank of the Austrians in the Tyrol, and Murat took possession of the Pontifical States. In Germany, Moreau, abundantly furnished with men and provisions

Bonaparte's renown was now so firmly established in Europe that kings began to solicit his alliance; and already Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark had concluded the League of Neutrals (December 16, 1800) by which to protect their commerce against the competition of Great Britain. But the British fleet was so superior to the others, that the battle of Copenhagen, fought on the 2nd of April, 1801, by Nelson against the Danes, sufficed at once to dissolve the league and cool the zeal of the Northern Powers.

The death of the Tsar Paul I., and the succession to the throne of the mystically-minded Alexander, once again left France to stand alone against Great Britain.

France was not in a condition to wage a maritime war. Her strength was already too fully absorbed on the Continent to allow even of her relieving Malta, which the English had blockaded. In Egypt, Kléber, left to his own devices, had signed with Admiral Sydney Smith the Convention of El-Arish, by which English ships undertook to convey French troops to their own country. But William Pitt refused to ratify the Convention, and Kléber, driven to desperation, had succeeded once again in defeating the Turks at Heliopolis (March 20, 1800), and retaking Cairo. But he was assassinated on the 14th of June, and the command fell to a mediocre officer, General Menou, who, after being beaten at Aboukir (March 21, 1801), and at Canopus on the 9th of April, had finally to capitulate, and evacuate Egypt.

In spite, however, of these successes, Great Britain thought the time had come to treat with France.

Bonaparte was beginning to study the reconstitution of the French navy. He had also begun to assemble in the camp at Boulogne an expeditionary corps for the invasion of England, and the naval battle of Algésiras had shown that, even in the matter of fleets, the French renascence was not to be despised.

By the Peace of Amiens, signed on the 27th of March, 1802, Great Britain not only confirmed the French in the possession of all their territorial acquisitions on the Continent, but also recognised the existence of the various republics which, extending from the Low Countries *viâ* Switzerland into Italy, formed, so to speak, a band of French dependents. England

this hour of glory and prosperity, the fundamental vices of the new system, and the indestructible germs of corruption which it concealed.

But as a point of fact, the equilibrium introduced by the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was bound to be of short duration. The chief causes contributing to this result were the violent character of the First Consul himself and the conditions underlying the superstructure of French power abroad, to which may be added the inherent weakness of the French Government, or rather the utter impossibility which it would have been for anybody but Bonaparte himself, in the zenith of his strength, to keep going such an enormous administrative machine.

The Italian Republics were too feeble to stand alone; Switzerland was too disunited; Germany, unaided, was incapable of accomplishing the necessary transformations in her condition; while Bonaparte himself was too imperious and too suspicious to allow of anything around France to be done without his despotic intervention.

He annexed Piedmont and the island of Elba, and turned them into French departments (September 11, 1802); he consented to select the Doge of Genoa; he became the President of the Cisalpine Republic (January, 1803); and in the following February allowed himself to be made Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation, and the moving spirit of a Constitution too centralised in its nature for the requirements of such a state. In Germany he intervened to expedite the secularisation of the ecclesiastical principalities, by which measure he intended to indemnify the Prince

Bishops for the territorial losses which France had inflicted on them in the valley of the Rhine. In short, peace had hardly been proclaimed before it became evident that, under various names and forms, France, and France only, was the governing power in these countries outside her legal sway. Such a policy was well calculated to alarm the neighbouring nations, and when by the measures, unsuccessful though they were, by which he sought to repress the Negro insurrection in San Domingo, Bonaparte seemed to betray a serious intention of reconstituting a French Colonial Empire, Great Britain once more took alarm.

And her alarm was so great that, in despite of the Treaty of Amiens, she refused to evacuate Malta, and seized all merchant vessels sailing under the French or Dutch flag (May 13, 1803). Bonaparte retaliated

originated with the Royalist party, sent some soldiers into the Grand Duchy of Baden, there to arrest the heir of the Condé family, the Duke d'Enghien. The Prince was summarily tried and shot at Vincennes on the 21st of March, 1804—a violation of neutrality which caused Prussia to range herself on the side of the enemies of France.

At the same moment Bonaparte had himself proclaimed Emperor as a protection against the dangers which threatened his life. The Empire and a new war, such were the immediate consequences of Cadoudal's attempt; but both had been inherent in the conditions of the moment and the character of the man who dominated France, and the events we have now to detail found their only possible termination on the field of Waterloo.

V.

THE FIRST EMPIRE.

(*May* 18, 1804—*April* 6, 1814.)

THE same majority which had acclaimed Bonaparte Consul for life, conferred an hereditary empire on Napoleon I. This was the answer given by France and her chief to those conspirators who

NAPOLEON.
(From a pen-and-ink sketch by Gros.)

The change was accomplished by the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 28th Floréal, Year XII. (May 18, 1804), which was characterised chiefly by a new attempt to break down all eventual opposition. It was decreed that the number of Senators should henceforth be unlimited, and that the Emperor himself should appoint them. He was also to name the presidents of the Legislative Chamber and the Tribunate, both of which were to have a longer term of existence than hitherto, while the salaries of their members were increased. But the Tribunate, in losing all publicity for its meetings, parted with its last shred of independence. The Senate remained guardian of the Constitution, but could only annul acts which would be contrary to the prerogatives of the Emperor, or those which might tend to a restitution of feudal rights,

taries and marshals whose presence was to reflect lustre on the throne, until a new nobility was created by the decree of 1808.

Of course, some measures remained to be taken later to complete the edifice thus built up; but their nature had already been so indicated by the circumstances of the case, they sprang so naturally from the very foundation of Imperialism, as to pass almost unobserved at the moment of realisation.

The Tribunate, for example, was suppressed as useless in 1807, and its office undertaken by commissions of the Legislative Chamber, whose members from 1808 were named by the Emperor.

Again, in the same year 1807 it was decreed that judges should only be irremovable after five years of probation, during which they would be able to prove their docility. Little by little the habit was introduced of performing every public act by command of the Head of the State, without any respect even for constitutional forms. In 1807, and later, a simple decree prorogued the powers of the outgoing members of the Legislative; at other periods the Chamber was not even convoked, and taxes were voted without its assent. In the same manner fresh taxes were imposed, or the military contingent to be raised by conscription was increased, and even individual liberty ceased to be respected, for, still in 1807, the same arbitrary form of decree instituted State Prisons—a sort of improved Bastille—wherein any citizen could be indefinitely detained on a mere order of the Executive.

In short, nothing was left standing, in a political

sense, in France except Napoleon himself. All control, all moderation, all thought of equilibrium of powers had gone by the board: every institution paled and withered in the presence of the Emperor. Here and there, indeed, a person was to be found who foresaw the ultimate consequences of such a a system. "The organisation of the powers of the State," wrote Rœderer in the Year XII., "cannot work effectually as it is at present. It will serve the ends of a despotic ruler, but must overthrow a feeble one. . . . A Senate, which has long bent to an arbitrary will, may one day well believe itself entitled to a will of its own, for a body which has allowed everything to another will end by thinking everything is allowed to itself. After having been employed by a Prince to destroy constitutional power, it may con-

sons and the chief territorial acquisitions of the Revolution, it may at least be said that her victorious armies spread throughout Europe the ideas which had determined the events of '89.

Napoleon had induced Pope Pius VII. to come to Paris for the purpose of crowning him (December 2, 1804), but the Emperor did not allow himself to be diverted from more serious matters by the preparations for this sumptuous ceremony.

The promulgation in 1804 of the Civil Code of which he had actively superintended the drafting, and which long bore his name, inaugurated that unification of French legal procedure which in 1806 was extended to civil causes, in 1807 to commercial laws, in 1808 to criminal cases, and in 1810 to penal legislation.

Roads and canals were made in all directions, improvements effected in the ports of Cherbourg and Antwerp, considerable buildings erected in Paris and other large towns; the linen industry, weaving and cotton spinning were all fostered; sugar was extracted from beetroot, and French commerce generally, supported by the reputation of the victorious armies, recovered its lost ground in European markets.

Napoleon consented, without much difficulty, to become King of Italy, with the idea of giving some cohesion to that country, and thus making it the centre, if necessary, of attacks upon Austria. But this step was not only a mistaken act of policy as regarded the Italians, who would certainly have preferred a national ruler, but it also accentuated in the watchful eyes of Europe the ambitious views of

the Emperor; and when Napoleon had to give up the idea of invading England, on the failure of the French Mediterranean fleet to pass Cape Finisterre, which was defended by Admiral Calder, and to rejoin their sovereign in the Channel, the third coalition against France had already taken form. It included Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, Austria, and Naples, and hostilities began simultaneously from Hanover, the valley of the Danube, Lombardy, and Southern Italy.

Napoleon marched towards the second of these points against General Mack, who was at the head of 80,000 Austrians, and had the Russian army behind him. By one of his accustomed manœuvres the Emperor, instead of attacking Mack at the entrance

the Archduke Charles, at its head was slowly coming up from Italy although exposed to constant onslaughts from Masséna and Ney.

Napoleon marched against the allies in Moravia, and defeated them completely in the memorable battle of Austerlitz on the 2nd of December, 1805.

Austria, in alarm, sued for peace, but only obtained it on the harshest terms. By the Treaty of Presburg (signed on the 26th of December, 1805), Austria ceded Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia to the Kingdom of Italy, while the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia were divided between the Dukes of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden. Prussia, although only awaiting her opportunity to turn against Napoleon, judged it prudent for the hour to prove her zeal by accepting Hanover in exchange for Cleves, Wesel, and Neufchatel, which were given to France. Prussia also subscribed to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and to the simultaneous constitution of a Rhenish Confederation, from which she, as well as Austria, was excluded, but of which Napoleon, by an act of folly, caused himself to be proclaimed the official protector, thus incurring the risk of rousing the susceptibilities of German patriotism.

Such triumphs were well calculated to intoxicate, and Napoleon, whose fervid imagination was always ebullient, had no need of such stimuli to fall into excesses. In order to secure his conquests, he thought it well to distribute them among his brothers, his relatives, and his comrades in arms. Thus Joseph Bonaparte was crowned King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland, while others became

Grand Dukes, Princes, or Counts in Italy and Germany, and Napoleon further accustomed the army to the enjoyment of honours and money by periodically conferring both. At the same time he sought to perpetuate these creations by laws of primogeniture in favour of the sons of those originally ennobled. The effect, however, was only to corrupt public spirit by rousing the desire for luxury in men who, up to this time, had been willing to sacrifice their lives for glory; and simultaneously a just indignation awoke in the foreign populations, who saw their lands and their wealth pass into the possession of unscrupulous conquerors.

A final stroke of audacity crowned the structure of one man's omnipotence. Neither Russia nor England

Sea and the Baltic, Napoleon turned his attention to dealing a decisive blow at England. Not being able to ruin her by force of arms, he determined to destroy her commerce, and by the decree issued at Berlin on the 21st of November, 1806, he declared a blockade against the British Isles and forbade all commercial relations with them. This is the measure usually known as the Continental Blockade. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, through the Channel, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean, all English merchandise became contraband of war, and every British subject might be thrown into prison. This was Napoleon's answer to the decision by which England proclaimed a fictitious blockade of the ports between Brest and Hamburg, thus closing them to the ships of neutral Powers. But the reply could not be complete as long as one port in Europe remained open to British merchant-vessels; and Russia still turned a deaf ear to the commands of the despot. Napoleon resolved to crush this remaining centre of resistance; and he undertook a mortal conflict with the Colossus of the North, far less to add new victories to his long list of triumphs than in the hope of striking at England in the person of the Tsar.

But the further he went away from France, the more treacherous grew the ground beneath his feet. He felt that one check would expose him to a declaration of war from the barely vanquished enemies whom he left behind, and who might at any moment cut off his line of communication with his base. For this reason he failed in carrying out his present campaign with the decision which had characterised him hitherto.

For instance, when established at Warsaw at the end of 1806, he hesitated to provoke a general insurrection of the Poles for fear of displeasing the Court of Vienna. Some preliminary engagements, with heavy losses, took place at Czarnovo, Golymin, Soldau, and Pultusk, but Napoleon judged it well not to proceed further for the moment, and took up his winter quarters in front of the Vistula. The Russians, commanded by Benningsen, believed they could surprise him with advantage, but the battle of Eylau, on the 8th of February, 1807, soon undeceived them, although the French losses were so heavy that Napoleon determined to remain in his winter quarters, and contented himself with investing Dantzig, which fell into his power in the month of May.

This peace was made almost entirely at the expense of Prussia, which was reduced to the possession merely of her eastern provinces, and even among these had to endure the loss of Dantzig, which was made a free town, and of Magdeburg, where a French garrison was installed. Within Prussian territory, between the Elbe and the Rhine, the Kingdom of Westphalia was created for the benefit of Jerome Bonaparte, while Saxony was enriched by Prussian Poland and invited, with Westphalia, to join the Rhenish Confederation. Napoleon bestowed on the Tsar the right of seizing Finland, and even, if necessary, the Ottoman provinces of the Danube; while for himself he took the mouths of the Cattaro and the Ionian Islands, with absolute liberty to do what he liked with them.

At a first glance, France in the year 1807 appears at the utmost height of power which human imagination could conceive; but in reality nothing could be more fragile than the edifice which Napoleon had built up at the cost of blood and suffering.

As once Charlemagne in the midst of feudatory Markgraves, so was now the Emperor of the French surrounded by tributary states in which he had installed his vassals. But these states had only a factitious existence; they were too feeble to subsist alone. Their rulers and functionaries were standing, so to speak, on air in the midst of indifferent or hostile subjects. A breath was sufficient to crumble the whole edifice into dust, leaving nothing behind it but the bitter hatred provoked by abuse of power. And bitterest of all foes was Prussia, in whose soul humiliation bred an inexorable resentment, and whose very misery was

fertile for regeneration and became the well-spring of an overwhelming vengeance.

Napoleon's own system was henceforth to be his ruin. He became incapable of standing the smallest contradiction or the faintest effort at revolt.

The grave blunder which England made in bombarding Copenhagen caused Denmark, and even Austria, to adhere to the Continental Blockade; but a still graver blunder of Napoleon's repaired the consequences of Great Britain's action, and brought about the final resistance of Europe to the Imperial idea.

Spain had been an ally of France ever since 1795, but her Bourbon rulers hardly offered sufficient proofs of their docility to Napoleon, and in 1806

mined to occupy Rome (April 2, 1808) and to transform the Papal States into simple Departments of France.

This step roused the hostility of the whole Catholic world, and more especially of Spain, where religious fanaticism has always held sway. And as if this were not enough to alienate the Spanish people, Napoleon committed yet another mistake.

The King, Charles IV., who was old and ill, formed the centre of various Court intrigues, of which the object consisted in preventing Prince Ferdinand's succession to the throne. The latter addressed an entreaty for aid to Napoleon, who, in the hope of obtaining a new ally, was willing at first to afford it. Things changed, however, when, in consequence of the insurrection of Aranjuez, Charles decided upon abdicating, and appointed Ferdinand as his successor.

This did not suit the views of the Emperor, to whom it now appeared that the best and easiest plan would be to remove the last Bourbon who still reigned on the continent of Europe. Wherefore he ordered his brother Joseph to cede the crown of Naples to Murat, and to come at once to mount the throne of Spain.

The introduction of a foreign prince was by no means to the taste of the Spaniards, and while Court functionaries were hastening to do homage to the new sovereign, the Spanish people, exhorted by their priests, rose in revolt. In a few days the insurrection was general, and although the victory of Bessières at Rio-Seco on the 14th of July, 1808, opened the

access to his new capital to King Joseph, the French troops were beaten at Saragossa and Valencia, forced on the 21st of July to capitulate at Baylen, defeated once more at Vimeira in Portugal by the British, who had hastened to the rescue, and compelled to withdraw in the autumn of the same year beyond the Ebro.

Napoleon arrived at once with reinforcements from the army in Germany, and by victories at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela in November, 1808, he brought his brother and the French flag back to Madrid. At the same time General Soult drove back the British to Corunna and General Gouvion Saint-Cyr retook Catalonia. Napoleon, however, had no leisure wherein to complete his conquests or

defeated for the third time, signed an armistice at Znaym on the 11th, and followed it up with the Treaty of Vienna, completed on the 14th of October, by which the French Empire gained Illyria, while various portions of the Austrian territory went to enrich Bavaria, Saxony, and even Russia.

In spite of these successes public opinion was not favourable to the French. Napoleon had hardly quitted Spain before events began again to be hostile to him. Soult had failed in reconquering Portugal and Ney had lost Galicia, while at Talavera King Joseph nearly suffered defeat (July 27, 1809).

And even where the conqueror himself was present victory cost more efforts than previously. The enemy had grown in energy as the French army had lost in cohesion and determination. The young conscripts and the foreign contingents, furnished though they were by pretended allies, made a bad substitute for the many humble heroes who for fifteen years past had met their death on European battlefields. The northern frontier of the Empire was threatened when the English seized Flushing on the 15th of August, 1809, and Antwerp itself would probably have been taken had not fever decimated the troops on their disembarkation.

Napoleon perceived the growing perils of his situation, but tried yet again to defy Fate by renewed affirmations of his ambition. Not satisfied with having placed members of the family of Bonaparte on various European thrones, he aspired now to the hand of an Imperial Princess in the hope that she might give him the heir whom Josephine

Beauharnais had not borne, and at the same time secure for France the moral support of her native country. Napoleon divorced Josephine, and married the Archduchess Marie Louise on the 1st of April, 1810. A son was the fruit of this union, and received in baptism the pompous title of King of Rome (March 20, 1811). His birth, however, was the sole advantage, if such it could even be called, which accrued from this marriage. Austria was not to be won over to France, but, on the contrary, only awaited an opportunity to fall once again upon Napoleon. The opportunity came when Napoleon, who after his mistaken action in Spain had only one blunder left to commit, decided upon the war with Russia.

He found a pretext by strictly enforcing the

and secured the support of Sweden, where the hereditary Prince, formerly Bernadotte, had so completely forgotten his French origin as to become prime mover in opposition to Napoleon, the Tsar made up his mind to face the chances of war. Without even waiting to pacify Spain, Napoleon collected 600,000 men, of whom one-third were foreigners, and marched in the direction of Moscow, with the avowed intention, well known to his staff, of proceeding thence towards Tiflis and British India.

He reached Moscow indeed, but there his military career was destined to receive a final check. Having crossed the Niemen at Kovno on the 25th of June, 1812, he remained too long at Vilna, occupied Witepsk on the 28th of July, and entered Smolensk on the 17th–19th of August after a sanguinary struggle.

The enemy retreated continually as the French advanced along the vast, deserted, and soon to be frozen plains of Russia. Napoleon succeeded, however, in coming to close quarters with the foe at last, and was victorious at Borodino on the 7th of September, but the battle was won with such terrible loss of life and by such prodigies of valour that Napoleon, being so far from his reserves, hesitated to follow up his success by pursuing the Russian army.

He entered Moscow on the 15th of September, but only to find it an immense brazier, the Governor having fired the town before evacuating it.

Napoleon nevertheless remained there a month, awaiting offers of peace which did not come. At last, overtaken by the first cold, he decided upon a retreat (October 18). What this retreat proved to

be is well known: 'ts disasters have passed into a legend. Already when it began, the French army counted only 80,000 men. Frost, famine, disease, and battle aiding, only 20,000 at last reached the Niemen at the end of December. The engagements of Krasnoë, Beresina, and Vilna once more cast lustre on French arms, but the tenacity of the Russian character and the rigour of the Russian climate finally triumphed even over courage and military genius.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon learnt that in Spain the French forces had been driven back by degrees to the Pyrenees, thanks to the unceasing efforts of Wellington, who, ever since repulsing the attack of Masséna on the lines of Torres-Vedras, had

the very dangers of his position, still confident in his star, and refusing to recognise either the insurgent world in front of him or the exhausted France that lay behind, he declined to treat on condition of ceding Illyria and his German possessions. One last victory gained at Dresden on the 26th and 27th of August seemed for a moment to justify his attitude, but the various secondary defeats which his lieutenants suffered, and the battle, or rather battles, of Leipzig (October 16–19) obliged him to beat a retreat.

The glory of years was now a thing of the past. France was invaded on the south by Wellington, on the east by Blücher and Schwarzenberg. Napoleon tried to galvanise the country by calling for a levy *en masse* and demanding a general rising. But he had strained patriotism to breaking point, and among all the functionaries whom he had placed in the great offices of State he found no man who was not now bent upon saving his own life, and above all his fortune.

One day, in 1812, during the Russian campaign, a report had been spread of the conqueror's death, and this announcement alone sufficed to stop all the wheels of government, for, failing Napoleon, there was no man who could keep the enormous machine at work. France had no longer any life of her own, and when misfortune and invasion threatened, Napoleon looked in vain for a trace of the heroic enthusiasm of 1792. The nation was weary and servile, with only strength left to complain of the long and bitter sacrifices it had been called upon to make.

Napoleon had still an available force of 60,000 men. With these he hurried eastwards to make one

last effort, and on French ground—for it was here that hostilities were now transported—he performed once more prodigious acts of valour. He defeated Blücher at Saint Dizier and Brienne (January 27 and 29, 1814), was repulsed at La Rothière on the 1st of February, but victorious again over the Prussians at Champaubert, Montmirail, Château - Thierry and Vauchamps (February 10, 11, 13, and 14). He also defeated the Austrians at Mormant, at Nangis, and at Donnemarie (February 16 and 17), and once again beat Blücher at Soissons and Craonne. But at Laon (March 10) he met with a repulse, was almost defeated at Arcis-sur Aube (March 20 and 21), and on learning that his Marshals Marmont and Mortier had been beaten in front of Paris on the 31st of March and

simply brought the invader back to France, but left the country more feeble than it had been under Bonaparte's predecessors.

Nevertheless, his achievements were useful in the end to Europe, for throughout the immense extent of

TALLEYRAND.

territory which formed the theatre of war, Napoleon overthrew a number of decrepit dynasties and founded the great united nations of our day. The love of national independence, the revolt against feudalism,

and the knowledge of civil equality followed on the track of the French armies; but just because the propaganda resulted on invasion, it was accompanied by a hatred against France which is not yet appeased.

And it may truly be said that if France owes to Napoleon a period of unexampled lustre and renown, she has also him largely to thank for the foreign and domestic complications of her present position.

VI.

THE FIRST RESTORATION (*April 7, 1814—March 26, 1815*).—THE HUNDRED DAYS (*March 27 to June 23, 1815*).

EVEN before Napoleon's abdication the idea of restoring the Bourbons to the throne had found utterance in France. At Bordeaux, whither Wellington had advanced after the victory of Toulouse, the Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., had been proclaimed king under the name of Louis XVIII. (March 12). At Paris even the Senate, edged on by the crafty Talleyrand, hastened to pronounce the dethronement of Napoleon (April 3) and to draw up a Constitution for Louis XVIII. to sign as a condition of his return to power, while almost simultaneously concluding with the Allies a treaty which reduced France once again to the frontiers established on the 1st of January, 1792 (April 28).

This idea of admitting Louis XVIII. only on certain conditions, if due to men who were at the same time guilty of great ingratitude towards Napoleon, was all the same a measure of real political significance. It formed, in fact, the only possible method of compromise between the doctrines born of the Revolution

and that portion of the Ancient Régime which it was necessary to restore; and if France in 1814 had been able to do what she did in 1830, and what England had already done in 1688, many painful crises would have been averted, or at any rate long delayed. But, unfortunately, events took another turn. The Restoration soon showed itself as implying a total subversion of the Revolution, and fresh political convulsions were the inevitable result.

Louis XVIII., although firmly attached to the principle of the Right Divine, was yet sufficiently intelligent to understand that he could not by a stroke of the pen suppress all that had happened in France during twenty-five years. His proclamation, dated from Hartwell on the 1st of January, 1814, dis-

in Russia, Louis preferred to engage himself in no way, and invited the country to confide in his royal pleasure for such concessions as he was willing to make.

The Senate, aided by the Allies, might indeed have wrung the necessary guarantees from the King; but the Constitution drafted by that body in the first days of April proved how much more its authors were thinking of their own advantage than of the public weal. Certainly the project contained excellent political suggestions. A Senate, named by the King; a Legislative Chamber, named by the electorate and susceptible of dissolution; responsible ministers who might sit in Parliament; an inviolable King, chosen, however, constitutionally in the person of Louis XVIII.; both Chambers to be able to present projects of law, but the Lower House alone to initiate measures of Finance: such was the programme, and it obviously revived the clauses of the Constitution of 1789. But the public did not perceive that. All it saw was that the sitting Senators had stipulated that they should form part of the new Senate and keep their emoluments untouched. Such a claim was too cynically calculating not to bring discredit on the whole scheme and its authors. "This is not a political Constitution, but a self-constitution of income" ran a witty remark. And as Louis XVIII. was surrounded with uncompromising royalists, among whom was his own brother and presumptive heir, the Count d'Artois, who refused to give up the doctrine of a pure Right Divine, he took advantage of the situation to reject the propositions of the Senate, and

to formulate on his own account the concessions which he was prepared to make. Therefore in his famous declaration dated from St. Ouen on the 2nd of May, 1814, Louis styled himself "King of France and Navarre by the Grace of God," the better to show that he held his crown exclusively from Heaven and not by the will of the people, while he promised to confer a Constitution on his subjects and to submit it, but for advice only, to the Senate and the Legislative Chamber.

Hence the Charter which was promulgated on the 4th of June. It had been drawn up by a mixed Commission of Senators and Deputies, but was not submitted either to the Senate or the Legislative Chamber!

The document starts from the fundamental principle

in 1830 was to help Charles X. to make his *coup-d'état*, provides that the Sovereign may take all the measures necessary for the application of the law and the security of the State. He names all life peers and all hereditary members of the Chamber of Peers, which assembly is unsalaried and deliberates in secret.

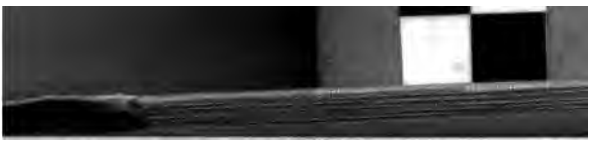
The Chamber of Deputies, whose sittings are public, must be returned by electors paying at least 300 francs of direct taxes, and chosen among persons whose assessment is fixed at a minimum of 1,000 francs.

The Deputies are to be renewed to the extent of one-fifth every year. Ministers are responsible to the Chamber, and may be arraigned by it, but must then be tried by the Peers, who also take cognisance of attempts against the State.

In spite of some defects in detail, notably the limited electorate—for the number of persons paying 300 francs of taxation did not amount to one hundred thousand—the provisions of this Charter afforded France an opportunity of trying a liberal and serious form of government, after the license of the Revolution and the depotism of the Empire. To facilitate the work of transition, Louis took care to call to the Chamber of Peers the greater number composing the Imperial Senate, and to change nothing but the name of the Legislative Body, which became known as the Chamber of Deputies. And the majority of Liberals whose voice had so long been unheard, men like Benjamin Constant, Lafayette, Cousin, and others, hailed with joy the new dawn of political freedom.

Nevertheless, throughout the country a growing anxiety soon became apparent. For the Restoration

was not simply a political phenomenon. The return of the emigrant nobles constituted a grave—perhaps the gravest—social problem, since it involved the simultaneous existence or superposition of two different societies, the component members of which during twenty-five years had been strangers to one another, or, worse than strangers, bitter foes. Frenchmen who had not left their country in that interval, but, adapting themselves little by little to a liberal *régime*, had learnt to march with the times, desired to preserve the civil conquests of the Revolution and to enjoy unmolested the share of national property which they had paid for in hard cash. But those who had followed their princes into exile execrated the Revolution quite as much as the Empire. They stigmatised the



to the Charter which the Sovereign himself had decreed.

This circumstance naturally provoked doubts of the sincerity of Louis's own Liberalism, and other facts were not wanting to aggrieve the public still more directly, either by menacing the security of property or by wounding national susceptibility. The appointment of General Dupont as Minister of War; the capitulation of Baylen; the honours rendered to the memory of Cadoudal and various other generals who had betrayed the national flag; the dismissal on half-pay from the army and navy of a great number of officers to make room for emigrants who had fought against France—were one and all obnoxious to the nation. Various acts of religious intoleration further exasperated the country, and brought it to a condition in which the slightest breath was soon to suffice to upset the Restoration.

Napoleon, a prisoner in the Island of Elba, was kept informed of the state of the public mind by the numerous adherents whom he had left in France. As soon as he thought the situation of the Bourbons sufficiently imperilled, he left suddenly with the small band of old troopers who had accompanied him in his retreat, and disembarking in the Gulf of Juan on the 1st of March, 1815, he arrived as far as Grenoble without meeting with the smallest resistance.

By a series of lively and ardent proclamations, such as he knew well how to make, he convinced the nation that its sovereignty had been outrageously violated, and roused such intense enthusiasm that the

NAPOLEON IN 1814–1815.
(*From the painting by Paul Delaroche.*

troops sent to resist him, first under General Labédoyère, and then under Marshal Ney, simply went over to him without striking a blow. On the 19th of March, Louis XVIII., feeling himself deserted, fled from Paris, and Napoleon effected his entry the following day.

He found the public in a very different state of mind to that which he had known one year previously. In his exile he had thoroughly recognised the fact that during his first reign he had carried his contempt of political liberty much too far, and he had consequently been careful to profess liberal principles in the first speeches which he made during his journey from the south to Paris.

But the enthusiasm of his reception had reawakened his old instinct of domination, and by the time he reached the capital he addressed once more as "subjects" the men whom, at starting, he had hailed by the name of "citizens." A few interviews with functionaries and public servants convinced him, however, that it would be necessary to treat very seriously the universal desire for security against personal power, and that the great fault found with the Restoration was far less that a Bourbon had remounted the throne than that he had granted institutions which were not sufficiently liberal.

Napoleon at once adapted himself to the situation, and, sending for Benjamin Constant, he said, "Give me your advice. I will grant public debates, free election of responsible ministers, and liberty of the press, . . . above all liberty of the press: to restrict that is absurd!"

Nevertheless he interfered rather peremptorily with the Commission which he had charged to draft a form of government. The Commission desired that all peers should be hereditary, and to this Napoleon was opposed. He observed, not without justice, that in France there was no real aristocracy of which the members were distinguished either for power or for public spirit. "In thirty years from now," he said, "my mushroom nobles will be merely soldiers or court chamberlains: their place will be a camp or an antechamber."

But on this point he gave way, standing out firmly on others. He insisted that the clause of the charter forbidding confiscation should be expurgated, a decision which caused some alarm among holders of property. He also stipulated with the view of

open a political career to the new generations, while the publicity of the debates in the two chambers allowed public opinion to control parliamentary discussions.

On the other hand, ministerial responsibility was subjected to very complicated formalities. Instead of a partial there was to be a total renewal of the Lower Chamber every five years, and the system of electoral colleges established in the Year X. was revived, with the double difference, however, that the primary electoral assemblies filled up annually the vacancies in the colleges, and these, the component members of which were chosen from among the most highly taxed representatives of the nation, definitively elected the deputies instead of merely presenting a list of candidates for government approval.

But by this time the clash of arms resounded on all sides. The plenipotentiaries of the Powers who were sitting in congress at Vienna in order to wind up proceedings after the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, and to reconstitute the map of Europe, now hastened to proclaim Napoleon an outlaw and to renew the ties, so lately dissolved, of the last Coalition.

Vendée, honeycombed with royalists, was once more insurgent. In a moment the situation of 1792 had returned.

As in 1792, patriotism reawoke in France, unaccompanied, however, by the same confident hopes, and destined to be confronted by a more united Europe, better armed for war and more determined to put a

final end to the bellicose and revolutionary instincts of France.

Napoleon, true to his genius, did not wait for the army to seek him. Taking the offensive, he entered Belgium on the 15th of June with 130,000 men, and on the 16th, in spite of General Bourmont's treachery, he routed the Prussians at Ligny under Blücher; but the discomfiture inflicted on this general was not sufficient to prevent his marching on the 18th to Waterloo, where, through his support of Wellington's admirable tactics, the French army suffered an irreparable defeat.

Napoleon returned vanquished to Paris, whither the Allies soon followed him.

The inhabitants of the capital were little disposed

coup-d'état. On the motion of Lafayette, the Chamber declared itself to be permanently sitting, and summoned the Ministers to its bar.

Disconcerted by this sudden measure, Napoleon began by forbidding the Ministers to obey the call; but later, seeing himself deserted and losing his own faith in his star, betrayed moreover by his closest adherents, notably Fouché, who was negotiating and intriguing with everybody, the Allies included, the Emperor felt that at last all was lost.

On the 23rd of June he abdicated in favour of his young son, the King of Rome, and left for Rochefort, whence, having voluntarily surrendered to the English, he was conducted by them to St. Helena.

This solution was not unwelcome to the Chambers of Legislature. After the experience they had just had of a Bourbon, a Bonaparte advised by a Council of Regency and controlled by some new constitutional clauses might have proved acceptable.

Napoleon II. was consequently proclaimed sovereign, and a revised version of the Additional Act prepared, to serve either for the young Bonaparte or for Louis XVIII. (if he had to be reinstated), or any other king. The revision was made by a Commission of the Lower Chamber. Its principal features consisted in granting the initiative of the laws to Parliament and the Executive concurrently, in guaranteeing political as well as civil equality to all Frenchmen, in abolishing orders of nobility, old and new, and finally in imposing no property qualification either for the elected or for the electorate of the first degree.

This elaborate project was destined, however, to

prove sterile. Acting under the advice of friends whose intelligence and capacity were greater than those of his Ministers in 1814—conspicuous among whom were Lally-Tollendal, Châteaubriand, and Talleyrand—Louis, from Cambraî, whither he had taken refuge, launched a proclamation, dated 27th of June, in which he sought with much tact to calm the public mind. Certainly he gave it to be understood that he would order new elections to the Chamber, and that particular persons whose share in recent events he considered too marked would not benefit by the royal clemency; but nevertheless he admitted that he had made mistakes, and professed himself ready to profit by his recent experience. He promised to form a united Ministry whose

The mad attempt known as the Hundred Days had reawakened the territorial greed of the Allies. Instead of the benevolence which they had exhibited towards the first Restoration, all their talk now was of mutilating frontiers, demanding indemnities enormous in amount for the period, and even of occupying French territory so as to prevent the possibility of new enterprises. And the treaty which finally closed the war forced France to pay more than one milliard of francs in different indemnities, quartered 150,000 foreign soldiers on her for three years at her cost, deprived her of Philippeville, Marienburg, Bouillon, Sarrelouis, Landau, and various communes in Aix and Savoy, thus leaving her frontiers exposed and the whole country geographically and strategically weaker than at the end of the reign of Louis XIV., while all her neighbours and rivals in Europe could boast of augmented power.

The domestic affairs of the country were in no better case. The Liberals, although hostile at first to the return of Napoleon I., had gradually rallied round him on finding him disposed to make concessions, and this movement accidentally, so to speak, gave birth to that monstrous alliance of Liberalism and Bonapartism of which later years were to witness the full development.

The Liberals exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the return of the Bourbons, and the failure of their efforts, joined to resentment at the punishment meted out by Louis to some of the functionaries who had deserted him on the 20th of March, threw them into the ranks of opposition to

the dynasty, and even of conspiracy and military machinations.

The ultra-royalists, on the other hand, such as Polignac, La Bourdonnaye, Vitrolles, and others, returned from their second exile more violent, more embittered and more implacable than ever. More than ever, too, were they determined to carry on the struggle of the Old France and the New, and to this end they used both the Parliament and the Press, resorting even to secret associations, with which they honeycombed society in the hope of thereby effectually counteracting the concessions of the King.

What could Louis do, placed as he was between two parties, one reactionary, the other almost revolutionary?

He had not encouraged the last Coalition, but, on the contrary, had kept himself aloof from the Allies' quarters during the Waterloo campaign, intervening only at the Peace to moderate some of the excessive demands made by the victors. But it was true, all the same, that foreign aid had replaced him on the throne, and that, so far from having been recalled by the voice of France, he had been received with more than coldness by the population of Paris and the Chambers themselves.

He resolved to use every means of averting a conflict between the middle classes and the populace on the one hand, and the nobles and royalists on the other; and as an unmistakable proof of his intentions in this respect he included in his new Ministry two men who had sprung incontestably from the Revolution, namely, Talleyrand and Fouché.

In a letter written three years later to his brother, the Count d'Artois, he expressed in noble terms his sense of the mission which he had assigned to himself. "The system which I have adopted," he said, "has for its foundation the maxim that one man cannot be the sovereign of two peoples, and all the efforts of my government are directed towards achieving the unity of the French people, now unfortunately divided among themselves."

These elevated aims were, however, singularly difficult to realise in the atmosphere of greed and passion which surrounded the person of the King. Something like a *coup-d'état* was necessary in 1816 before he could get rid of the irreconcilables; and between that date and 1821 he succeeded only by a constant struggle in imposing his own ideas of moderation and justice on others. But the effort wore him out. He was already old, and, weary at last of being neither understood nor supported, Louis, from the last-mentioned date onwards, let the Restoration slide into a groove of reaction, along which, by gradual steps, it was finally brought to the Revolution of 1830.

VII

LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES FROM 1789 TO 1815.

IT would seem as if the brilliant outburst of literature in the eighteenth century had exhausted the genius of France, leaving nothing to be produced during the brief but stirring times between 1789 to 1815.

The Revolution was nourished and inspired by

mena, and therefore naturally alien to political agitation, was not prevented by the troubles of the times from yielding marvellous results. Indeed, one of the chief features of French history at this date is the imperturbable progress of scientific research in the midst of social convulsions.

LETTERS.

If the Revolution had not suddenly destroyed polite society and cut short artistic leisure, it is certain that a special form of literature, what one might call a Louis Seize literature, would have arisen.

Towards the end of the Ancient Régime one perceives, concurrently with the philosophical movement of the period, an æsthetic current flowing from those springs of antique beauty of which the very existence had been forgotten. The erudition and spirit of archæological research which distinguished the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, and were especially marked in the Græco-Roman studies of the Count de Caylus (*vide* his Scenes from Homer and Virgil), had a strong influence upon David and other painters.

The Abbé Barthélémy's "Journey of Young Anacharsis in Greece" met with a success which proves the reviving interest of the public in antiquity, and André Chénier, the greatest poet of the age, was soon about to give true literary expression to the Greek ideal of plastic beauty.

Contemporary with these Neo-Hellenists were the disciples of Rousseau, Bernardin de St. Pierre, the emotional philosopher, Madame de Staël, author of "Les Passions," Mirabeau, the impassioned writer of

the "Letters to Sophie," and Madame Roland, the incarnation of the "New Heloïse." Again there were the "hommes d'esprit," or wits such as Rivarol and Chamfort, who carried the art of conversation (*causerie*) to perfection, and finally the later encyclopædists, Condorcet and Volney.

Here we see the direction in which literature would have developed under Louis XVI. but for the profound modifications introduced by the Revolution. When that period had passed a new literature arose, which bore a superficial air of neo-classicism, and belonged to the Græco-Roman movement through the correct poetry of Fontanes and the purity of style of Paul-Louis Courier. Essentially it was composed of revived Catholicism, lyrical exaggeration, Wertherism, and changes in the genius of the language, all of which elements constituted a preparation for the so-called Romantic School.

ORATORY.

The Clubs and Assemblies of the Revolution, wherein new ideas and absorbing interests were debated with such energy, naturally produced many brilliant orators, all of whom possess a fervid, passionate eloquence, often unrestrained, and most frequently invested with the pompous forms of ancient rhetoric.

High above all towers Mirabeau. His chief characteristic is passion, a passion which flames in his famous "Letters to Sophie" (1777–1780), which elevates his speech to sublimity, animates his countenance, and lends accents of penetrating emotion to

his voice. Yet fervour in him was always moderated by the force of his reasoning and the quickness of his apprehension. Rarely indeed in any politician have passion, reasoning power and wit been united to the same degree as in Mirabeau, who, thanks to his possession of such qualities, becomes the very type of orators, and the representative of the whole French nation at this period when daring was only surpassed by genius.

The Abbé Maury, champion of the clergy and nobles, was a more skilful dialectician, but he had the defects of his qualities. He was a rhetorician, and put too much preparation into his phrases and too much artifice into the march of his ideas. But his prodigious memory, his facility, his rapid perception, his imperturbability and the magnificent quality of his voice, raised him to the chief rank among the adversaries of Mirabeau, who was accustomed to say of him, "When he is right we dispute, when he is wrong I crush him."

Danton, "King of the Market Place" (*roi des Halles*), that tribune of the biting and fiery tongue, played at street corners the same part as Mirabeau in the Assembly, and succeeded to him there on the latter's death.

Danton's character is well expressed in the words which he pronounced on the 2nd of September: "That cannon which you hear is our charge upon the enemy. To conquer, what do we need? Audacity, yet more audacity, always audacity."

Marat, "friend of the people" and most energetic of publicists, carried his hatred of usurpers to the

pitch of genius. His eloquence was inspired by rage and revolt, and was united to a remarkable promptitude of judgment. "I cease not from preaching insurrection," he said, "after having shattered the talisman of a false respect for degraded chiefs. . . . Death, death, that is the punishment which should await all traitors who are bent upon destroying us."

Desmoulins was a fluent, witty, and sarcastic rhetorician, who appealed to the most enlightened classes of the public by the enthusiasm manifested in his anonymous writings, and fired them by the ardour of youthful talent with which he urged them to the exercise of the loftiest virtue and patriotism.

Vergniaud, the most eloquent of the Girondins, was principally distinguished by a scorn of men, which lent to his utterances in general a haughtiness further intensified by his noble manner. A strict logician and gifted with a keen and open mind, he would, but for his natural indolence, have been the Mirabeau of the Legislative Assembly.

Robespierre took his stand upon lofty principles, which he sought to apply with uncompromising strictness. He was sober, and of elegant habits, but possessed by the high-flown tendencies of his age and inflated with false conceptions of metaphysics and history. Nevertheless the strength of his convictions produced a great effect. "That man will go far," said Mirabeau. "He believes everything he says."

Saint-Just was the philosopher and moralist of the Mountain. He was saturated with the "sensibility" of the time, and it was doubtless this emotional

quality which gave suppleness and picturesqueness to his clear and rapid speech. "Tyranny is a reed which bends before the wind and recovers itself," he said. And again: "Abuses disappear for an instant, then reappear, just as we see humidity vanish from the ground only to fall once more from the skies."

Every style of eloquence finds its representative among these men, who have been chosen for mention because their names are familiar to the world. Differing among themselves in talent and political ideals, they are yet stamped by the French Revolution with one common characteristic. One and all are convinced that they are working for mankind, that their mission is to achieve universal equality—hence their generalisations and the poetical enthu-

numberless abstract thinkers, moved by similar feelings of benevolence, dreamed of a social state in which every person might have an equal share of good fortune. And among these dreamers were some who considered the possibility of imposing their theories, and all the consequences to be derived from them, by violent means upon their fellow-citizens.

The most celebrated of all, Babœuf, paid for the audacity of his views with his life. His opinion was that Property belongs to the nation, and that individual possession is a usurpation. No citizen should be entitled to more than the usufruct of the land: to live he must work. Education should be national, universal, and equal, and every man should bear arms. Everybody has a right to be happy: everybody should be happy. "Nobody," cried Babœuf, "can have conspired more thoroughly than I. My crime, I am convinced, is common to all Frenchmen, or at least to all virtuous Frenchmen, to all who reject the odious system which makes the opprobrium and exceeding misery of the many a condition of the happiness of the few."

Side by side with these forerunners of modern socialism were writers who were beginning to raise political economy to a science. This branch of study had already yielded brilliant results in the eighteenth century. The Physiocrats, by their bias towards individualism and liberalism, as well as by their appeals to natural right, had exercised a marked influence upon the Revolution; and the Constituent Assembly had even attempted to embody the principal axioms of the school into laws. After the

Empire, however, the theories of the Physiocrats fell into discredit, and were replaced by English ideas, by the teachings of Adam Smith and Ricardo, whose serious works and profound opinions modified the views of Europe.

J. B. Say (*vide* "Treaty of Political Economy," 1803; "Cathechism," 1815) adhered to the ideas of the English school, while arranging them in a much more logical and systematic manner. Just as Lavoisier had done for chemistry, so did Say fix for Political Economy a nomenclature which was eventually adopted by all writers on the subject.

He formulated the theory of "outlets" (*debouchés*) by proving that each nation must pay its own products for those which it acquires, and was reso-

was wanting in the spirit of investigation and the wide erudition which alone invest the process with authority and make it lasting and fruitful of results.

History for the most part produced only colourless compilations. But the writings of Bonald, author of a "Theory of Political and Religious Power" (1796), the "Considerations on France" of Joseph de Maistre (1796), and the "Considerations on the Revolution" of Madame de Staël (1818), by their methods of original research, their political acumen and the brilliancy of their style, were the forerunners of the prodigious historical development which was to mark the Restoration.

POETRY, FICTION, THE DRAMA.

Novelty was, however, most remarkable in fiction. The Drama was enriched by no work of any importance, while Poetry—contrary to most examples in the history of Letters—gave birth to an independent genius who was neither a product of the moment nor a precursor of the immediate future.

André Chénier, as has often been remarked, was a Greek or Neo-Roman, that is a pagan enamoured of gracious images, of amiable divinities, of smiling landscapes, which appear in his poetry under a pure and perfectly classic form. His fresh song, the melodious utterance of an ardent and noble soul reinvoking a bygone beautiful, happy age, forms a strong contrast to the sombre and tragical events of the Revolution, with its alternations of enthusiasm and terror, and the uncertainty of its social state. To this contrast

Chénier owed his rapid success, and, doubtless also, a portion of his glory.

Marie-Joseph Chénier, although a prominent literary figure in his time, cannot be compared to his poet-brother. He worked chiefly for the theatre, and

Beaumarchais in 1792 concluded his celebrated tetralogy by producing "The Guilty Mother," wherein he shows us Almavira astonishingly transformed into a moralist. But the comedy was very inferior to its predecessors, and the unimportant theatre at which it was produced did not contribute to its success. In 1790 and 1792 the author rearranged some scenes of his "Tarare" according to the prevailing taste, but the changes thus made failed to render the philosophical poem either less obscure or more entertaining. An infinite number of tragedies and comedies of all sorts and forms appeared during this period, but the only important incident was the birth of melodrama, destined to achieve a rapid success.

Barely two years before 1789 Fiction had been enriched by the little masterpiece "Paul and Virginia," a graceful idyll, the love story of two children told with human reality and depth of feeling, and set in the dazzling framework of Nature in her tropical mood.

In 1791 Bernardin de St. Pierre published "The Indian Hut," a protest, more witty than convincing, against Science, rendered monotonously fatiguing at last by the glow of descriptive colouring. Neither this work nor its more famous predecessor introduced a new element into literature.

Almost simultaneously Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël published, the first "Atala" (1800) and "Réné" (1802), the second "Corinne" (1802) and "Delphine" (1807), and thus introduced the personal novel for the first time into French fiction. This meant the substitution of the author's own impressions for the

rhetorical flights which had hitherto done duty as description.

René was Chateaubriand himself—Chateaubriand with his sore moods, his sickly shrinking from the trivial details of life, his unquiet spirit, his embittered, haughty melancholy, and his dream of an impossible love.

Delphine and Corinne were equally Madame de Staël, with her beautiful arms, her romantic ardour, the irresistible impulses of her heart, her grace, her intelligence, her noble aspirations.

Thanks to the wide and penetrating mind of Madame de Staël, a new world was revealed in Italy and Germany, while to Chateaubriand's eloquent and fervid genius the renascence of the religious spirit

a youth passed in poverty. His unsatisfied soul, absorbed in self-contemplation, found no other solace than to analyse its own sadness and bitterness. Ardent, and passionately attached to beauty in all its forms, he fed the flame of his longing with every means of enjoyment which offered itself, but gave nothing of his own in return. "My mind," he said, "while made to believe in nothing, not even in myself, to despise all things, honours, misery, kings, and peoples, is yet dominated by an instinct of reason which orders it to reverence whatever is admittedly beautiful, such as religion, justice, humanity, liberty, and glory." By obeying this instinct Chateaubriand succeeded in forgetting himself—that is, if to forget oneself means to write works wherein the only standard referred to is oneself.

The beauty of the Christian religion appealed to him all the more that for a century it had been obscured by indifference. To restore full light would be to discover a new form of beauty.

The charms of nature impressed Chateaubriand still more profoundly. He travelled widely, and reproduced in his pages the pathetic and original beauty of Greece and Italy, of Spain, America, and the East. No writer has ever painted more faithfully, yet more poetically, the all-compelling, sombre or gracious spell of the night, the solemnity of primæval forests and prairies, the misty skies of Germany, the sunlight of Italy, the loveliness of Greek mountains or the varied colours of Arab encampments.

The "Genius of Christianity," published on the 18th of April, 1802, a short time after the Concordat,

rehabilitated religion in the eyes of good society, which had seen Christianity eclipsed and ridiculed by rationalism. The work was not dogmatic; if it had been so nobody would have read it. The thought embodied in its lines is feeble, feeble also are its arguments, and its metaphysical reasoning is infantile. But it was a prose poem which, by a series of picturesque and pathetic images, awoke all the vague religious feeling that slumbered in the souls of men, and cleverly turned this emotion to the profit of Catholicism by demonstrating to respectable people that they might henceforth profess that creed without fear of ridicule or absurdity.

Such a work was well calculated to influence the age in which it appeared. It unlocked the prison gates of religious aspiration which, gathering strength

included "The Itinerary of Paris to Jerusalem"), are two epic romances or prose poems built up on two antitheses, one being the contrast between natural and civilised man, the other the opposition between the Pagan and the Christian world.

René was a type whom these works introduced to the public. "From the beginning of my life," he says, "I have never ceased to nourish sorrow. I bore the germ of it within me as the tree bears the germ of its fruit. An unknown poison penetrated all my sentiments. I pursue a painful dream. . . . Life wearies me. I have ever been consumed by *ennui;* that which interests other men touches me in no way." The character thus described possessed an irresistible attraction for later writers, furnishing them with the psychological elements which they translated into disgust of life, monstrosity of sentiment, and superiority of guilty passion. A greater merit of our author was to reveal its true aim to history by his own success in revivifying the buried past.

As a stylist Chateaubriand restored the breath of life to the French language. He is not a master, it is true; he is unequal, and infected with the bad taste of the time. A large part of "The Martyrs" is pompous, emphatic, insipid, "Empire" in a word. But his real manner, that which belongs to him alone, that which is known as "Chateaubriand's style," is of brilliancy, of harmony and rhythm all compact.

He saw at a glance all that was most characteristic in his subject. He possessed the art of grouping and of framing, and he knew how to make his readers hear all the voices of nature.

His influence in the nineteenth century is immense. Lamartine borrowed from him ***ennui***, melancholy, vagueness of soul. Alfred de Vigny owes to him the note of pessimism; Victor Hugo, picturesque description, the epic sense, the use of historical erudition; De Musset, the refinements of a dandified boredom. All the novelists of passion, such as George Sand, Sainte-Beuve, Flaubert; all the Neo-Catholics, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, to wit; historians like Thierry, Michelet, even Renan, resemble him on some side, and usually this is the description of nature which they have introduced into their romances, their philosophy, their narratives of travel, their erudite researches or their historical works.

MADAME DE STAËL.

If Chateaubriand was chiefly an impressionist Mdme. de Staël was principally a thinker. The first influenced those around him by his style, his descriptions, his artistic conceptions, but the second owed her authority to her ideas, her conversation, her personal magnetism. She was sentimental and romantic like Rousseau, argumentative and worldly like Voltaire. Her intelligence was cosmopolitan and her religious feeling weak. Nevertheless her influence on the thought of the time was as great as Chateaubriand's—an apparent contradiction which a brief analysis of her principal works will suffice to explain.

"Literature, Considered in its Relation to Social Institutions" (1800), is a thesis on the development

of human intelligence in all its manifestations. The Romanticists owed to it the following criticism: "The object of literature is no longer to be, as in the eighteenth century, merely the art of writing: it is to be the art of thinking, and the standard of literary greatness will be found in the progress of civilisation." Better still, the work contained the germ of all later developments of criticism: "I propose," said the writer, "to examine the effect upon literature of religion, customs and laws, and the influence upon these of literature."

The seed of all Romantic Drama is contained in "L'Allemagne" (1810). Mdme. de Staël attacks the unities and makes light of rules. "Some declare," she says, "that language was definitely fixed on such a day and such a month, and that the introduction of a new word would now be a barbarism. Others affirm that the rules of the drama were laid down for good in a such or such a year, and that any writer of genius who would now effect a change is to blame for not having been born before that year, wherein all literary discussion, past, present and future, terminated for ever. And in metaphysics, above all, it has been decided that since Condillac one can take no step forward without being lost."

Have we not here an indication of the impending revolution in the French language, the French theatre, and almost in philosophy?

"Considerations on the French Revolution" (1818) is an explanatory apology of the Revolution, of which the tendency is summed up in the following maxim: "All minorities invoke justice, and justice is liberty.

One can only judge a party by the belief which it professes when in power."

The work is too narrow in scope, and limited too exclusively to purely political considerations, as well as being too imbued with the idea that for a people a Constitution is everything. But it is very suggestive, thanks to the multitude of acute remarks which it contains. Guizot profited much by it, and eventually took up the argument, amplified it, and finished it in a manner superior to the original.

Politically, Mdme. de Staël is the mother of parliamentary and dogmatic Liberalism. As historians, Guizot and De Tocqueville felt her influence. Her "Germany" revealed to the world a new form of literary genius, and in the years between 1820 and 1829 promoted a prodigious outburst of translation. Schiller, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Manzoni, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, and Dante in turn received a French dress. Mdme. de Staël also inspired Lamartine, and suggested to Balzac his researches into the social dramas of the great world.

"Mdme. de Staël and Chateaubriand," writes M. Lanson, "considered themselves to have but little in common. But in reality, although of opposite principles and temperaments, they gave the same impulse to literature. Mdme. de Staël furnished the Romanticists with ideas, theories, and a method of criticism; Chateaubriand gave them an ideal, desires, and the means of enjoyment. The woman defined where the man realised."

ART.

The orators of the Revolutionary Assembly loved to invoke the heroic examples of the Roman Republic. The dramatists of the same period, with the aim of pleasing a public penetrated with admiration for the civic virtues of Plutarch's Illustrious Men, borrowed from Antiquity the subjects of almost all their tragedies: and similarly artists took the ancient Greeks and Romans for their models.

PAINTING.

The greatest painter of the age, David, had sacrificed largely to the taste of the day, before painting his masterpieces, "The Session of the Tennis Court" and the "Coronation of Napoleon," wherein he represented the spirit of liberty, the noble efforts and attitudes and the grandiose imagination of the Revolution. In his earlier manner are "The Horatii," "Brutus," and "The Death of Socrates"; and he reached the crowning-point in this style when he painted the frigid and mechanical "Rape of the Sabines." He was the head of a school, but his disciples proved either quite different to their master or very inferior to him. The fact is David's merit lay in his personal originality, and that passion for the great and the colossal which led him to design unrealisable monuments and made him a majestic master of the ceremonies during the *fêtes* of the Revolution.

Like André Chénier Prud'hon loved Antiquity for its grace. His "Diana," "Psyche," "Love," "Venus

and Adonis," "The Spinning Girl," and "The Cotton-winder" have a quiet charm which renders them superior to his too celebrated allegory, "Justice and Vengeance pursuing Crime."

Girodet fell under the influence of the new ideas, and especially in his "Deluge" (1806) and "Burial of Atala" (1808) he is the precursor of the Romantic school.

All the remaining painters consecrate their pencils to the glory of Napoleon. Charles Vernet painted the battles of Marengo (1804), of Austerlitz (1808), of Rivoli (1810), and the Passage of the St. Bernard. To Gerard we owe a remarkable portrait of Napoleon; to Isabey, the "Conference at the Congress of Vienna"; to Gros, the "Plague of Jaffa" (1804), the "Battle of Eylau" (1808), and a portrait of Josephine.

MUSIC.

In Music also there is but little originality. The enthusiasm of the period finds its echo only in the "Marseillaise" of Rouget de l'Isle, or in those fine lyric outbursts, "Le Vengeur" and "Le Chant du Départ." Concerted music is cold and formal, Méhul's pompous "Joseph" being the best example. In the "Paul and Virginia" (1794) and in the "Bards" (1804) of Lesueur one may discern a beginning of Romanticism, and the same is true of the works of Cherubini. Some pleasing musicians like Dalayrac achieved success in the light style of the Vaudeville.

SCIENCE.

The student of the French Revolution is struck with the rapidity with which that great event was accomplished. Twelve years saw the downfall of old institutions and the reconstitution of society on a new basis. And this same phenomenon, under a more striking form still, appears in the radical transformation of Natural Science. Barely fifteen years sufficed to eradicate all previously-received ideas, to introduce a new conception of matter, to substitute the theory of simple bodies for the antiquated notion of four elements, to reveal the true composition of living beings, and to establish their real relations with their environment.

CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS.

Lavoisier is the chief promoter of this scientific revolution. To him must be ascribed the concep-

tions underlying the modern science of Chemistry. His discoveries related to the nature of metals, the composition of acids, of air, of water, the nature of heat, and to combustion, respiration, and animal caloric. And as the new ideas required a new language, the French chemists who gathered round Lavoisier created the nomenclature with which are associated so many discoveries whose influence persists to the present day.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

The new scientific current, combined with the rationalism of the eighteenth century, produced a school of philosophical medicine, adorned by the names of Bichat, Cabanis, Pinel, Broussais, Desault,

Mechanism," described the perturbations of the principal planets, reduced all the laws of Mechanis to general principles, and by means of Kepler's laws, which he deduced from observation, he formulated the law of universal gravity.

Monge applied the analytical method to geometry. Delambre measured the meridian (1792–99), and laid the basis of the metrical system (1806–10).

The Institute was founded in 1795. Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity" dates from 1802, and the same year saw the restoration of religious rites. Never was religion exposed to such grave attacks in France as during the years 1789–1802, and never did science register more brilliant or more rapid triumphs.

May we regard this as a simple coincidence, or is the explanation to be found in a relation of cause and effect? That is a problem which the present writer does not pretend to solve here, but which imposes itself on the thinking mind at the conclusion of this first period of our historical survey.

VIII.

THE SECOND RESTORATION.

(*June* 24, 1815—*July* 29, 1830.)

ON the 7th of July, 1815, even before returning to Paris, Louis XVIII. had formed a ministry which, as he conceived, afforded to the revolutionary party

double that of the deputies to be returned. Out of that list the constituency of the department, formed of the most highly-taxed electors, had to choose at least one half of the deputies assessed at 1,000 francs of taxes; but as the number of electors became thus very limited, the Prefects were empowered to add ten persons of their own choice to each constituency of the two sorts.

This decree was simply provisional; one of its clauses, indeed, announced that it was to be submitted for revision to the next Parliament, at the same time as the articles of the Charter concerning the initiative of laws, the mode of renewing the Chamber, &c.

These proposals could not be said to aim at giving a truly national character to the new Government, since not even the middle classes, but only the wealthiest members of the community, were called upon to exercise power. Louis XVIII. hoped by this device to interest those whom the years following the Revolution had enriched in the preservation of his throne; but it did not take him long to perceive that the desired support was not thus to be gained. The parvenus who feared a reaction were, many of them, less concerned to prevent its coming than to shelter themselves from its effects by cringing immoderately to the Court. Just as a number of Jacobins had crowded to the receptions of Napoleon as soon as he became Emperor, so did the majority of holders of national property hasten to proclaim a loyalty to Louis which was all the more effusive because it was of recent date; and they entirely failed to perceive how much their excessive zeal

added to the difficulties encountered by the King in carrying out his pacificatory intentions.

And as, by the decree of the 13th of July, the Imperial Chamber had been imprudently dissolved, and a general election ordered, the neophytes were furnished with an ample opportunity of displaying all the fury of their convictions.

The Government itself gave the signal of violence. It replaced all the functionaries who had been dismissed during the Hundred Days; it deposed the peers who had declared their adhesion to the *Acte Additionel;* it tried by court martial, or before the High Court of Justice, the generals who had followed Napoleon, such as Ney, Labedoyère, and others, who were shot before the end of the year; it instituted Provost's Courts for the pursuit and arrest of

themselves almost inimical even to the Charter, who dreamed of nothing but vengeance, repression, and exceptional laws—men, in a word, more royalist than the King himself.

Before the new Chamber met, Louis, urged by those around him, especially by the Count d'Artois, who was reckless in his support of the "ultras," resolved to dismiss the Ministry of the 7th of July, which yet, under the able guidance of Talleyrand, had succeeded on the 2nd of October in signing the preliminaries of peace with the foreign Powers.

Without relinquishing his programme, the King called a Cabinet formed of men like the Duke de Richelieu, formerly an exile and a great friend of the Tsar, Decazes, Barbé-Marbois, and others, whose past could inspire no suspicion in the extreme royalists. By their means, and the support, if necessary, of the peers, among whom reasonable councils prevailed, Louis hoped to be able to impose his ideas on the Chamber of Deputies.

The new Cabinet, constituted on the 24th of September, 1815, was carried along at first by the current of the hour. One law against seditious utterances (November 9) empowered the tribunals to deal with the smallest chance remarks of citizens; two others, dated 29th of October and 20th of December respectively, handed over to the arbitrary action of Government all persons suspected of entertaining hostile sentiments towards the Restoration; a third (January 12, 1816), ironically described as a law of amnesty, decreed perpetual banishment against the members of the National Convention who had voted for the

death of Louis XVI., and ordered the exile of the Bonaparte princes.

These measures distinctly violated the King's promises and the articles of the Charter, but it was necessary to concede something to the prevailing humour of Parliament in order not to precipitate a conflict. And eventually the conflict broke out all the same. Not content with obstructing in every way the vote on the Budget—a measure already rendered very critical by the estimates for home and foreign expenditure—the Chamber demanded the reinstatement of the clergy in their former rights of civil registration, and the restitution to the Church of all property which had not yet been sold, besides a grant of forty-one millions annually to be applied as the clergy might think fit, as compensation for the lands which had passed to other owners. The reactionary party did not succeed in obtaining more than the abrogation of the Law of Divorce (May 8), and the concession to religious of the right to teach in public schools (February 29); but there was no mistake as to their intentions. They were bent upon destroying, bit by bit, the entire work of the Revolution, and felt themselves sufficiently sustained by excited public opinion to propose an extension of the suffrage by which the electoral qualification was lowered to fifty francs.

Louis XVIII. was alarmed at such audacity. Feeling that the Government was hastening to the brink of a precipice, he took the advice proffered by Decazes, and published the Decree of the 5th of September, 1816, in virtue of which the Chamber

was dissolved, the number of deputies reduced to 259, and the eligible age fixed at forty years. The Decree was of doubtful legality, electoral legislation being one of the functions of Parliament; but its justification lay in the exceptional gravity of the moment.

The Extreme Right received the measure with opprobrium, but the Extreme Left,[1] recognising the importance of saving its dearest ideals, abstained from presenting candidates of its own and supported those whom the Ministry favoured.

In the General Election held on the 4th of October, the "ultras" proved to be in a minority, and the Cabinet obtained a preponderance of votes among the dynastic Liberals, who, led by Decazes and Laîné, and aided by Jordan, Courvoisier, Royer-Collard, De Serre, De Broglie, &c., were intent upon trying to establish Parliamentary government in France.

From this time dates what has been aptly called the Government of the Centre. With rare and passing exceptions, the Parliamentary system in France has never followed the English model—that is to say, the country has never been governed alternately by two disciplined and co-ordinate parties. In the French Chamber there have always been two wings differing profoundly in principle, who, if they occasionally unite in a vote of opposition, are yet incapable of forming a majority, either separately, or

[1] Parties in France do not exchange places in Parliament when there is a change of Ministry. Conservatives and Reactionaries sit always on the right of the President, the Liberals and Radicals on the left; hence the expressions, "Right" and "Left" which serve permanently to designate the two parties.

by an understanding which their mutual repulsions renders illusory. Between these two extremes is a floating mass of deputies who incline first to one side and then to another, according to the opinion which momentarily prevails, who never, or almost never, succeed in giving stability to a Ministry, but nevertheless, in spite of the excesses of the two extremes, impose on the country at large a sufficiently moderate and liberal policy, and thus avoid the perils incident on sudden change.

This system, under forms of government not always identical, has prevailed on the whole from its inception until the present time; but it has never yielded such brilliant results as in its early years, from 1816 to 1820, when the men who had founded it and the questions which they discussed were alike memorable and important.

The work of the new Government consisted in five great enterprises, which were brought to a successful issue. These were: the financial rehabilitation of France, with the consequent withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory; the abrogation of the exceptional laws voted by the reactionaries in 1815; the electoral law of the 5th of February, 1817, which deprived the great landowners of a portion of their influence by suppressing the two degrees of suffrage and including all voters taxed at 300 francs in a single constituency for each department; the law of the 18th of March, 1818, in virtue of which for many years the French army was recruited by an annual drawing of lots within the limits of the contingent fixed by law, and conscripts who had drawn a low

number were enabled to buy themselves substitutes; finally the law, or rather three laws, of the 17th of May, 26th of May, and 9th of June, 1819, on the Press, by which newspapers, while dispensed from the necessity of obtaining an administrative license, were forced to deposit a security for the execution of any sentence which a jury might pronounce against them.

These various measures were not carried without difficulty. Every year the partial renewal of one-fifth of the deputies obliged the Government to reconstitute its majority, and to increase or diminish its infusion of liberalism in accordance with the fluctuations of public opinion and the composition of the Chamber. The Left accused it of temporising, of showing insufficient confidence in the benefits of liberty, of too much harshness towards the exiles of 1815, and even of unjustifiable leniency towards the encroachments of the Catholic clergy. The Right could not forgive the Decree, or, as it preferred to say, the *coup-d'état* of the 5th of September, 1816, and being for the moment in opposition, it found fault with the electoral law for narrowness, and with the press law for unnecessary rigour.

A first change in the Ministry became necessary in December, 1818. The Duke de Richelieu resigned, leaving to Decazes and General Dessoles the task of forming a cabinet with inclinations towards the Left.

But in the elections of 1819 the Left won numerous seats, and when, in consequence of this, various Imperialist generals, such as Foy, Lamarque, and Sebastiani, together with former members of the

Convention like Grégoire, returned upon the scene, the Centre took alarm, and began to gravitate towards the Right.

The assassination of the Duke de Berry on the night of the 13th–14th of February, 1820, raised a panic, and Richelieu returned to power on the 21st of the same month, while the services of Decazes were dispensed with.

Determined now to govern with the support of the Right against the Left, the Duke overturned with his own hands the Liberal edifice raised during the preceding years. Fresh measures were taken against "suspects," censure and preliminary authorisation restored with regard to the Press, and modifications introduced into the electoral law by a measure passed on the 20th of June. This consisted in depriving a

public opinion. The Duke de Richelieu counted on the support of the Right; some of whose representatives, such as Villèle, Corbière, &c., had posts in the Ministry. But these very men were secretly in league

CHARLES X.

with the Count d'Artois, whose approaching accession was rendered ever more probable by the feeble health of the King, and disapproving of the comparative moderation of the Premier, they did not hesitate to

ally themselves with the Left in order to overturn him.

Richelieu retired on the 12th of December, 1821, and was succeeded three days later by Villèle, who chose for his colleagues such uncompromising reactionaries as Corbière, Mathieu de Montmorency, de Peyronnet, &c.

Villèle was endowed with the common sense of a good man of business, free from dogmatic prejudices, but he lacked the necessary force of character for resisting the demands of his party. His Government, which survived Louis XVIII. and lasted until 1827 under Charles X. (formerly Count d'Artois, who succeeded to the throne on the 16th of September, 1824) was one long series of proceedings against

A legend grew up round the Revolution, now that the impression of the Terror had faded, and round Napoleon now that he died in St. Helena on the 5th of May, 1821. It became the fashion to say that the French army had formerly overrun Europe in order to propagate liberty, and that it was consequently very badly employed in keeping despotic princes upon their thrones.

The parliamentary Left, reduced to a small number of deputies, and unable to wring any concessions from Government, took refuge more and more in illegal measures, which carried away even those who openly censured them like Royer-Collard, or condemned them in silence like General Foy and Casimir Périer. In three years, from 1821 to 1824, there were no less than eight conspiracies in which civilians and military men were alike compromised. Nineteen persons were condemned and eleven executed. Villèle faced the position with remarkable energy, repressing rebellion on the one hand, while taking measures to ensure victory in Spain on the other. (Storming of the Trocadero, near Cadiz, on the 30th of August, 1823.) Believing himself master of the situation, he took advantage of these successes to dissolve the Chamber and issue writs for a General Election; but this step ruined both its originator and the Restoration itself.

The returns of the 25th of February, 1824, although recklessly manipulated, reduced the number of Liberal deputies to twenty, and Villèle thus found himself at the mercy of a Chamber as intolerant and violent as that of 1815. He crowned his imprudence by abolishing the system of partial renewal which, by

frequent periodical elections, would have enabled him to moderate the excessive ardour of his majority. A law dated 9th of June, 1824, decreed that the new Chamber should last seven years, to be entirely reconstructed at the expiration of this term. There followed on this an incredible series of attacks upon the spirit of modern France. In 1825 the Five per Cents. were converted into Three per Cents., and the thirty millions thus saved were inscribed on the *Grand Livre* in favour of the exiles whose property had been confiscated during the Revolution. This step was resented by the holders of the old Five per Cents., and revived the smouldering hatred against the men who had served in foreign armies against

Lower House or the Government, was necessary to repel this attack, and to limit the project to a revival of entails, but only for two generations, in favour of the children of a legator or donor (law of the 17th of May, 1826, abolished on the 7th of May, 1849).

In 1827 a new Bill, ironically described as a "Law of Justice and Love," was introduced to fetter still further the liberty, already so curtailed, of the Press, by submitting each number of a journal and each volume of a book to the Censor before publication; but this measure, although it passed the Chamber of Deputies, was resolutely thrown out by the Peers. In short, each session of Parliament was marked by a new effort, usually successful, at unmitigated reaction.

Neither Villèle nor the cause of the Royalists gained in general estimation through all these events.

The students submitted with scanty patience to the yoke imposed upon them by the teaching in the schools, while the middle classes were uneasy at the various assaults upon their interests, and shared the alarm of the mass of the population at the revival of the hated aristocratic and clerical spirit.

Some good can be attributed to this period, as, for instance, the reorganisation of the public finances, and the Code of Forestry dated 1827; but these benefits were outweighed by the arrogance of the "ultras" and the growing pretensions of the clergy, who were now completely dominated by the Jesuits. Demonstrations which were almost riots broke out constantly in the streets of Paris, the burial of the

smallest celebrity furnishing a sufficient pretext. Villèle was not only attacked by the Left, but also by some uncompromising Royalists, who accused him of not having known how to checkmate the opposition of the Upper Chamber, in spite of the new creations by which he had hoped to obtain a majority; and there were still other men, like Chateaubriand, whose vanity he had managed to wound in the course of his long tenure of power. Nevertheless he still believed in the possibility of restoring his impaired credit. On the 6th of November, 1827, he induced the King to pronounce the dissolution of the Lower Chamber, and exhausted every means of obtaining a faithful majority in the elections. But his efforts were vain. Only one hundred and eighty of his supporters were returned, the rest being one hundred and eighty Liberals of different shades and sixty "ultras." On the 5th of January, 1828, Villèle resigned. As the ministers were taking leave of the King, one of them, Clermont-Tonnerre, said to Charles X., "I entreat of your Majesty not to forget that our Ministry was the most royalist which the country will ever accept." But this was a lesson which the monarch was incapable of understanding or remembering.

A Cabinet formed out of the Right, but with Liberal tendencies, and composed of Martignac, De la Ferronays, Portalis, Roy, and De Vatimesnil, hastened to restore their chairs to Guizot and Cousin, to abolish Press Censorship (Law of the 18th July, 1828), and even to forbid the Jesuits to teach in ecclesiastical seminaries, as well as to limit the

number of pupils admitted to these establishments (16th of June, 1828).

But the Ministers had not the confidence of the King (whose friends were constantly advocating a *coup d'état*), and found themselves, moreover, in a very precarious position in Parliament, where they failed to satisfy the "ultras" or to obtain the support of the Left, now growing daily in influence, thanks to discipline, cohesion, and apparent moderation.

Martignac had not sufficient authority to impose his policy on the King, nor sufficient determination to obtain a majority on one side or the other of the Chamber.

Defeated in April, 1829, by a coalition of the Left and Extreme Right on a point of order, and feeling himself mistrusted both by the Sovereign and the Chamber, he resigned in August after the voting on the Budget.

Charles had only been waiting for an opportunity to form a Cabinet after his own heart, such as he had dreamed of during his exile, but such as he had never seen since 1814.

The mystic and ignorant Polignac, Bourmont, a former *émigré*, who had betrayed Napoleon at Waterloo, and La Bourdonnaye, one of the most obstinate of the reactionaries of 1815, formed the principal ornaments of this Ministry (August 8, 1829), a Ministry which, as the King hoped, would be highly combative, but which counted not a single man of action among its members, nor any unity of views.

Nobody failed to perceive the real significance of such a Cabinet. The Extreme Right talked openly

of dissolving the Chamber and suppressing the Charter, while the Left prepared energetically to resist the impending attack, and even the most moderate journals warned the King that he would be wise not to seek adventures. But Charles only listened to his evil councillors. He opened the Session of the 2nd of March, 1830, by a threatening speech, to which the two Chambers replied, the Upper by affirming the necessity of ensuring unity of action between the King and the people, and the Lower maintaining that such unity was impossible as long as there existed a Ministry whose fundamental principle was an "unwarrantable distrust of France."

The King's answer was not long in coming. The Chamber was prorogued on the 19th of March and dissolved on the 16th of May, while the elections

of the capture of Algiers by a fleet which had been sent to avenge an insult offered to the French Consul by the Dey.

These tidings, following so soon on the joint action of France, Great Britain, and Russia to bestow freedom on Greece (naval combat of Navarino, October 20, 1827), intoxicated Charles with a prospect of military glory. He thought that nothing could be denied to him; and without even waiting for the Chamber to meet, on the 25th of July he signed a series of decrees which were so many acts of defiance to his adversaries, even to the most moderate among them.

Fortifying himself, although very erroneously, with Art. 14 of the Charter (see above, p. 114), he suspended the law of 1828 and thus restored the Censorship of the Press; he declared the Chamber dissolved, and ordered the Prefects to draw up new electoral registers which should contain only the names of those paying 300 francs of taxes levied entirely on real estate. And the preamble of these decrees expressly stated that their object was to oppose resistance to "the turbulent democracy which has invaded even our laws and tends to displace legitimate power."

There was not the shadow of any democracy in the limited franchise of the institutions which had been established after the Restoration; therefore the decrees of the 25th of July were essentially absolute in tendency. No sooner were they grasped by the people of Paris than revolt followed on stupor and insurrection on revolt. Three days of battle, first in the Press and

then in the street, sufficed to defeat the King. A tardy change of Ministry and the revocation of the decrees did not avail to save his dynasty. He fled to Rambouillet, then later to England, and France was relieved without much difficulty of the last of her Bourbon kings.

IX.

THE JULY MONARCHY.

(*July* 30, 1830—*February* 23, 1848.)

THE leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition were greatly embarrassed by the rapid success of the Three Days—the "Three Glorious Days'" Revolution.

If Republican ideas inspired some classes in Paris, they were far from having penetrated to the provinces or pervaded any departments of the Government. Also there was but little disposition to accept the abdication of Charles X. in favour of his grandson the Duke de Bordeaux, later known as Count de Chambord, who was still a minor. A new experience of Divine Right, complicated by a Regency, was not an attractive prospect.

Presently arose the idea of seeking a king in the younger branch of the Bourbons. Like all junior members of a reigning house, Louis-Philippe, Duke d'Orleans, had Liberal pretensions which inspired some confidence in those who knew him, and he had already been thought of as a candidate to the throne in 1815, at the time of the Second Restoration.

Now, in 1830, the crown was offered to him, but

on conditions which it was hoped would prevent the renewal of the difficulties which the country had encountered with the elder branch.

The Charter, known as that of the 9th of August, 1830, which Louis-Philippe took an oath to obey, was drawn up in a few days, not to say hours, by a Parliamentary Commission composed of Villemain, Benjamin Constant, General Sebastiani, Dupin, &c., and hastily voted by the two Chambers.

The new document was merely an attenuated edition of the Charter of 1814, all clauses in the latter which had offended national sentiment or provoked hostility being simply suppressed.

The preamble disappeared because it contained an affirmation of Divine Right, and was replaced by a declaration on the model of that made by England

Chambers, together with the Executive, were to initiate laws. Thirty was fixed as the age at which deputies might be elected, and twenty-five for the franchise. The constitution of the Upper Chamber and the money qualification for the franchise were to form subjects of special legislation, and, as a point of fact, were considered the following year.

The Elections Act, dated 19th of April, 1831, suppressed the privilege of a double vote, and divided the constituencies in such a way that each should henceforward elect only one deputy instead of voting as hitherto for all the deputies from one department. The number of eligible deputies was tripled by fixing the qualification at 500 francs, and the number of electors doubled by lowering the franchise to 200 francs for ordinary persons and by conferring it on all retired officers and members of the Institute who paid 100 francs of taxes.[1]

The Peers Act (December 29, 1831) occasioned an admirable debate in the Lower Chamber. In vain Royer-Collard, Guizot, and Thiers defended the principle of heredity as favourable to the independence and authority of the Upper Chamber, for the great majority of the Assembly and the King himself,

[1] It should be noted that the "professional franchise," the refusal to accord which occasioned the Revolution of 1848, was demanded by the Government of 1830. The proposal was to confer the franchise on men who, without being rich, possessed a certain social position, such as judges, barristers, solicitors, &c. The Left rejected the innovation out of distrust of judges, whom it regarded as reactionary, and the Right followed suit because it feared the Liberalism of barristers. As to the pure Legitimists they, believing the country to be with them, and supported by Berryer, demanded universal suffrage in two degrees.

whose disposition was jealous and narrow, were determined to allow none but life peerages. Finally it was decided that the sovereign should select the peers from among the higher civil and military functionaries who had served a specific number of years, and such property-holders or manufacturers as for three or five years, according to circumstances, had paid at least 3,000 francs a year in taxes. Neither the members of the Upper Chamber nor those of the Lower were to receive salaries or gratuities. Such was the Act. It annihilated the political power of the Upper Chamber, and thirty-six creations were necessary before it could be passed.

The Revolution of 1830 was more important than may appear on a superficial examination. It finally

had accepted the conditions to which the exercise of his power was subordinated by law.

But royalty was weakened by the ordeal through which it had passed. It had been conclusively proved that the throne might easily be induced to capitulate, and consequently could no longer be regarded as a force, whether for equilibrium or for restraint. Instability caused loss of strength, and it was easy to foresee that the ground gained at the expense of their rulers by the people must inevitably increase in extent.

A wise policy, prescient of the coming evolution, would have facilitated the transition from the present to the future by educating the masses progressively through a gradual extension of the suffrage, and thus preparing for the inevitable dawn of democracy; but what happened was exactly the contrary. Louis-Philippe and his advisers were more bent upon repairing the damages of authority than upon assisting the political and social transformation to which the Revolution of July had been a first step.

After eighteen years of the new government the electorate had not advanced one degree from the point where the law of 1831 had placed it; and every outlet of reform had been arbitrarily closed. The electorate was barely larger now than at the Restoration. In 1831 there had been 166,000 electors; in 1848 the number had risen only to 240,000. Moreover, representation was so badly distributed that one deputy sometimes sat for 150 electors, 25,000 inhabitants, and 440,000 francs of revenue, as against 3,000 electors, 226,000 inhabitants, and 2,200,000 francs in another place.

There was consequently an extremely restricted franchise, and even within these narrow limits a flagrant inequality in the distribution of seats. And, as if this were not enough, there was no payment of deputies, and the electoral qualification excluded all but the richer candidates. Among these many were Government functionaries, of whom the number rose from 139 at the beginning of the reign to 200 at the end, in a Chamber composed of but 459 in all, and it was natural that such men should be exposed to the suspicion of subserviency to the Executive.

There was, in short, ample justification for the famous Reform petition presented in 1847, which said: "The Nation cannot find in the existing electorate either a precise expression, a faithful image,

Louis-Philippe and his followers, however, like Bonaparte after the 18th Brumaire, believed that revolutionary principles had been exhausted by the Charter of 1830, and that henceforward it would be merely necessary, as they were fond of saying, "to restrain the Revolution so that it might be fruitful, and so that it might not be wasted."

This delusion was fostered in them by the hostility which the Revolution of July had excited in Europe, where the Legitimist dynasties were alarmed at the events of Paris and the echo they had aroused in other countries, especially in Belgium.[1]

But the leaders of the revolt against the Restoration were not unanimous in their views, and if some were willing to join the Court in applauding resistance to progress, others on the other hand were anxious to join the forward movement.

The occasion would have been a great one for France to make acquaintance at last with the division of parties into Liberals and Conservatives, if unfortunately each one of the fallen governments had not left a legacy of irreconcilable adherents. After the dissolution of the Chamber, and the general elections consequent on the law of 1831, it was found that there were no less than five parliamentary parties; that is, a few Republicans led by Garnier-Pagés, a

[1] On learning the Revolution of July, the Belgians had taken arms to shake off the yoke of Holland to which the Peace of 1815 had united them. Belgium obtained its independence, but the Powers prevented her choosing a Prince from among the members of the new Royal Family in France; and to guard against French intervention the country was made neutral under the joint protection of Europe.

dynastic Left under Odilon Barrot, a Left and a Right Centre wherein Thiers and Guizot respectively asserted their authority, and a little Legitimist phalanx faithful to the old rulers and inspired by the illustrious Berryer.

Out of this broken parliamentary mass many Ministries were born and perished, each one seeking to capture a majority which was ephemeral and elusive when found, until the moment in 1840 when, after hesitating for long between progress and reaction, after yielding one day to resist the next, the July Monarchy was crystallised, so to speak, into the Ministry of Guizot, who, during the seven years that his power lasted, conducted it gently to its fall.

out in repeated demonstrations in Paris, Lille, Dijon, and other places.

Having failed to restore order, and being abandoned by many of his followers, among others by General Lafayette, who gave up the command of the National Guard and inaugurated a policy of opposition strongly tinged with Republicanism, Laffitte resigned, and was replaced by Casimir Périer.

Périer combined great energy with a curious mixture of arbitrariness and Liberalism. In a few days he succeeded in stamping his administration with the only qualities worthy of the name of government, and by the vigour of his rule he restored public confidence. He came into power on the 13th of March, 1831, and on the 21st he promulgated a law of municipal organisation which, while leaving the nomination of mayors as heretofore to the Executive, deprived this of the power to name the members of the Municipal Councils—once elective bodies, but which since the Year VIII. had ceased to be so. On the 10th of April another law empowered the Government to disperse popular assemblies by force after three ineffectual summonses. The contrast between these two measures sums up Périer's character.

His promptitude of action displayed itself equally in all directions. He sent reinforcements to the Belgians, who had risen against the Dutch, and occupied Ancona so as to force Austria to evacuate the Legations. He restored order to French finances; energetically repressed the insurrection of Lyons (November, 1831) and the riots of Grenoble (March,

1832); replied to a Legitimist movement in Vendée by forbidding the Bourbons to set foot in France (Decree of the 10th of April, 1832), and handed over impartially to the law the republicans and the reactionaries who conspired against the July Monarchy.

Périer died suddenly of cholera (on the 16th of May, 1832), one of the many victims of that terrible epidemic, and his Cabinet deprived of his guidance was too feeble for the situation it had to face. The insurrection was spreading in Vendée, and lasted, in point of fact, until the end of November. In the month of June, in Paris, a Republican rising fomented by Legitimist and Bonapartist agents had to be repressed with bloodshed; while in Belgium the struggle with Holland still continued.

The Conservatives and Moderate Liberals alike perceived that a serious effort must be made to fill the place of Périer. On the 11th of October a strong Cabinet was formed, under the Premiership of Marshal Soult, and including Thiers, Guizot, and the Duke de Broglie, which continued the policy at once authoritative and liberal inaugurated by their predecessor.

A law of the 22nd of June, 1833, extended to the Councils-General of Departments the elective form of administration granted in 1831 to the municipalities. An Act dated the 28th of June created a system of primary instruction, up to that time much neglected in France, by obliging every commune to maintain at least one school for boys. Elementary instruction, however, was not rendered obligatory, nor was any system of gratuities provided for it. The clergy of all denominations recognised by the

State were accorded a share in the direction and superintendence of schools.

These were Liberal measures, but an opposite tendency inspired the Act of the 16th of February, 1834, which sought to hinder the distribution of revolutionary pamphlets by obliging hawkers to obtain a Government licence; and this was equally the case with another law of the 10th of April, which, improving on the Penal Code of the Empire whereby associations of more than twenty persons were forbidden, decreed severe punishments against all secret or public societies consisting of groups of less than twenty persons corresponding with one another.

Replying to the furious attacks of the Left, who denounced this last-named measure as being a flagrant violation of the Charter, Guizot said that the Act was an exceptional one necessitated by the dangers of the moment, and especially by the existence of the association known under the name of Rights of Man, which numbered 162 sections in Paris and 300 in the Departments. This argument proved so convincing that the Act passed, and now, sixty years later, it is still unrepealed.

In spite of all efforts, the situation of affairs grew worse. In April, 1834, a Republican insurrection provoked by this very law on associations took place in Lyons, and was followed by similar risings in Marseilles, St. Etienne, and finally in Paris, where more than usual severity had to be applied in repression. The Cabinet thought it a wise step to dissolve the Chamber, but the new one returned by the con-

stituencies was more divided against itself than ever. In the Ministry there were dissensions which, between March and November, led to no less than four changes of composition.

The party of resistance, as it was then called, gained ground each day, until even Thiers broke away from it, in spite of his early Liberalism, and on the 12th of March, 1835, consented to remain in the Ministry which had now been remodelled for the fifth time under the Duke de Broglie.

The trial of the insurgents of the previous April lasted for nine months before the Upper Chamber, and in the teeth of numerous condemnations conspiracies and outrages went merrily on.

Fieschi's infernal machine which was destined to

summary and more severe, a simple majority[1] on the jury sufficing to procure convictions; and the censorship was enlarged so as to include theatrical representations and the publication of engravings, drawings, and emblems.

These measures were opposed to the traditions of Liberalism even more through their tendencies than their provisions, and the moral blot which they inflicted on the July Monarchy far outweighed their benefits. The press found a way of substituting insinuations for overt attack; judicial proceedings and harsh repression did not avail to prevent repeated attacks on the life of the King (there were two in the course of 1836), and revolutionary republicans like Blanqui and Barbès easily found members for their secret societies.

Warned by some symptoms of lassitude in the majority of the Chamber, Thiers began to think that it might be wise, after leaning so long on the Right, to turn now a little towards the Left. In the Cabinet formed on the 22nd of February, 1836, of which he was Premier, he eliminated the "doctrinaires" of the Right Centre—such as Broglie and Guizot, and admitted some members of the Third Party who were more disposed to conciliate the Liberals. The new Ministry had no definite programme, and showed itself incapable even of carrying such a measure as the Conversion of the Rentes, which the state of the money market rendered urgent, if the true interests of the Treasury were to be consulted; but which the King and his followers could not make up their

[1] Since 1831 seven votes out of twelve had been necessary.

minds, until the end of the reign, to sanction, for fear of alienating the electorate. During the parliamentary recess the dissensions between Thiers and Louis-Philippe increased. The former wished to intervene in Spain in order to protect Queen Isabella against the Carlists, and pursue a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Restoration in 1823; but, rather than yield, the King accepted the resignation of Thiers without waiting for a vote of the Chambers, and this act of arbitrary authority gave rise to endless attacks upon royalty which lasted, with ever growing asperity, until 1848.

The Third Party was easily persuaded to fill up the ministerial vacancy thus created by the will of the King. On the 6th of September Molé formed a

least, some sympathy with their offence; but the Molé Cabinet enjoyed so little influence in the Chamber, that even this verdict could not enable it to obtain assent to the new measures of repression for which it asked.

Molé, however, contrived to maintain his position until the spring of 1839, thanks to the support of the King, who twice, in November, 1837, and March, 1839, allowed him to dissolve the Chamber, the country, no longer able to understand the complications of parliamentary policy, on both occasions returning a majority committed to no definite opinion whatever.

Molé was the author of some important Acts, notably, in 1837 and 1838, those relating to the administration of the communes and departments where, in spite of some ameliorations in detail, the principal decisions of the local councils remained dependent on the assent of the central executive. In 1838 other measures followed bearing on the powers of Tribunals of First Instance and Justices of the Peace (*Juges de Paix*), on commercial failures and bankruptcies, and on asylums for the insane. But each time that a particular policy was in question Molé remained without authority in the Chamber, for the double reason that he followed from day to day a haphazard line of action, and that he had arrayed against him all the most eminent men, such as Thiers and Guizot, who, although now rivals, united in attacking the common foe; and a coalition which they eventually formed, for the moment, with the wings of the Right and the Left succeeded on the 8th of March, 1839, in overthrowing Molé altogether.

Such a coalition, however, is often more potent to destroy than to create, and so it was in this instance.

The ministerial crisis lasted a long while. A heterogeneous Cabinet with little to distinguish it was formed on the 31st of March for the simple despatch of public business, and gave place on the 12th of May to a Ministry presided over by Marshal Soult, but also composed of secondary representatives of the Right and the Left. And yet the situation was one of gravity.

The Egyptian Question was a source of alarming rivalry between France and England, for while the latter, although recognising Mehemet-Ali as hereditary ruler of Egypt, was unwilling to invest him otherwise than partially and for life merely with the

Louis-Philippe resigned himself, although very reluctantly, to the necessity of summoning Thiers, who on the 1st of March, 1840, formed a Ministry which, being composed exclusively of elements from the Left Centre, rested, through this very fact, upon too narrow a parliamentary basis. Thiers, in those days, was still very imaginative and inclined to follow rather than restrain popular sentiment, besides being filled with admiration for Napoleon I. and desirous of military glory.

His Ministry, which lasted only some months, was marked by one act, and one bellicose intention. The *act* was to decree that Napoleon's ashes should be solemnly restored to France—a ceremony which gave fresh life to the Napoleonic legend;[1] the *intention* was betrayed by the decision to reply by warlike preparations to the Convention of the 15th of July, by which England and the other Continental Powers agreed to checkmate the policy of France in Egypt. But on this point Louis-Philippe once more opposed his veto, and allowed his ministers to retire without a vote of the Chamber, rather than yield to their counsels. He was doubtless wise in refusing to encourage the bellicose tendencies of Thiers, but the crisis of 1840 increased public uneasiness by once more rousing national passion, by demonstrating

[1] Prince Louis Napoleon, who had left the United States and established himself in England, seized the occasion for a fresh enterprise. He disembarked at Boulogne on the 6th of August, 1840, but was at once arrested and brought to trial before the Upper Chamber. This time, instead of being reconducted to the frontier merely, he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham, from whence he succeeded in escaping in 1846.

that Europe was still united against France, and by leaving the Sovereign more exposed to attacks than ever.

Guizot now became the head of the Government. In the Cabinet of the 29th of October he left the Premiership, it is true, to Marshal Soult; but nevertheless he remained the real chief from this period until the fall of the July Monarchy—a monarchy of which he may be said to have summed up, in himself, every essential characteristic.

Guizot was endowed with marvellous eloquence, and this led the public to attribute great strength of character to him, but he was in reality of a vacillating disposition, which not only deprived him of all authority over the King, but left him unable to refuse

dations which had been adopted for it in the beginning, and totally failed to understand that these very foundations were shaken by the popular passions now beginning to seethe beneath the surface. He believed himself to be consolidating the dynasty of 1830 when defending, on all occasions, the prerogatives of the Crown, and exhibiting more complacency than was needful towards the wishes of the King.

He cannot be described as a reactionary Minister, since he was sincerely attached to as much liberty as had been achieved; but he reduced *ad absurdum* the principle of immovable Conservatism, and hence ruined the cause which he had sworn to defend.

An agitation in favour of electoral and parliamentary reform began in 1840, to continue uninterruptedly until 1848. The electoral reform demanded was an extension of the franchise, which some thinkers here and there wished to render universal, while the Moderates desired to limit it to the so-called "*Capacitaires*."[1] Parliamentary reform required a limitation in the inordinate number of functionaries who sat in the Lower Chamber, or, at any rate, the prohibition of any promotion during the time that they continued to represent a constituency. Both the changes described were to be recommended—the extension of the franchise, because it would convince the people that their still vague dreams of social regeneration were, at least, not opposed by the interests of a caste or a coterie, the prejudices of a class, or the selfishness of the rich; parliamentary reform, because it was advisable

[1] See above, p. 173.

to redeem the Chamber from all suspicion of servile or venal motives.

But Guizot haughtily rejected both demands, and deservedly drew down upon himself a bitter apostrophe from Lamartine in 1842. "You inexorably refuse all amelioration. If such were the only attitude necessary for a Statesman charged to direct a Government, there would be no need for a Statesman. A bar would suffice."

It is possible that Guizot might at last have resolved to give some satisfaction to the Progressive party, had it not been for the irreconcilable opposition of the King. But when in 1842 the Duke d'Orleans, Louis-Philippe's eldest son and presumptive heir, was killed in a carriage accident, there

Licenses and Railroads. But the moment politics came into play, everything went against him. In 1842 he failed to induce the Protectionists to accept a Customs Union which he had concluded with Belgium, and was forced to give up the arrangement made with England on the subject of the Right of Search.

In 1844, the Tahiti incident with the indemnity granted to Pritchard, the missionary, were unfavourably commented on by the public, who had not yet recovered from the check imposed upon France in 1840 in Egypt.

Guizot, finding himself regarded as being unduly conciliatory towards Great Britain, sought to purchase popularity by the Spanish marriages, which consisted in marrying Queen Isabella to a Bourbon Prince, Don François d'Assise, and in giving the Duke de Montpensier, Louis-Philippe's brother, as a husband to the Queen's sister. But in order to accomplish this, he had to conciliate Austria by favouring her policy in Switzerland and Italy, and this departure from the national traditions of France outweighed any advantages to be obtained from the alliances.

Guizot's greatest failure in home affairs was his incapacity to settle the religious question, which came to the front chiefly in connection with Public Instruction.

The clergy, whose successive encroachments so largely contributed to the unpopularity and fall of Charles X., had regarded the July Monarchy with a very hostile eye; and their discontent was exaspe-

rated by the measures which marked the early part of Louis-Philippe's reign. The Charter, however, promised liberty of teaching, and eminent Catholics, like Montalembert and Lacordaire, who long before the higher ranks of the clergy had seen the necessity for the Church to seek popular support, in preference to identifying its action exclusively with the upper classes, were urgent in demanding the fulfilment of the promise.

The Law of 1833 on Primary Instruction had already empowered religious congregations to furnish teachers to the national schools. But Secondary Instruction remained a monopoly of the University, to which private schools had to send the pupils who aspired to academical degrees. One proposal made

Council of Public Education (December 7, 1846), and after that the whole question was adjourned indefinitely, while leaving opinions much divided and exasperated.

But the Government, if very feeble and undecided in its home and foreign policy, did at least enrich France by one great possession—namely, Algeria. The various stages of this enterprise lasted from 1830 to 1847, and were carried on by one ministry after another, in the teeth of military and parliamentary obstacles, with a perseverance highly honourable to the statesmen of the period. Doubtless, when Charles X. ordered the occupation of Algeria, nobody foresaw either the length of the arduous undertaking or the magnitude of its results.

It happened here, as in so many colonial enterprises, that the resistance of the native population caused the invader to extend his conquests beyond the limits originally intended. But the fact remains that the fanaticism of the Mahometans, joined to a tenacity in the French of which they do not often give proof ended by conferring on France a colonial possession of nearly four million souls.

In 1833 the tricolour already floated over all important points of the coast from Bona to Oran; in 1835 Tlemcen was taken, and when, by the Treaty of Tafna concluded with the gallant Abd-el-Kader, the western portion of the Regency had been momentarily pacified, the invaders were able to concentrate their attention on Constantine in the East, which fell on the 13th of October, 1837.

When shortly afterwards Abd-el-Kader broke the

peace, the French passed the Iron Gates (October, 1839), occupied Cherchell, Medeah, and Milianah in 1840, Boghar and Saida in 1841, Sebdou and Tebessa in 1842, Tenez and Collo in 1843, Batna, Biskra, and Laghouat in 1844, and, pursuing the Emir into Morocco, of which the Emperor supported him, they bombarded Tangier on the 6th of August, 1845, and by the victory of Isly on the 14th of the same month constrained him and his ally to treat.

In 1846 Aures was subdued, Kabylie submitted in the following year, and on the 23rd of November, 1847, Abd-el-Kader surrendered himself a prisoner. The conquest of Algeria was complete.

In this great enterprise one man particularly distinguished himself, Marshal Bugeaud, who shone equally in administration and in war. A moment

old. Guizot, who had destroyed his authority by inertia in great things and craftiness in small ones, had found some difficulty in filling vacant posts in his Ministry, so widespread were the general disaffection and discouragement, and so pressing the fear of an approaching disturbance. These sentiments manifested themselves unmistakably in the parliamentary debates in January, 1848, but Guizot met all complaints and all challenges with his usual uncompromising disdain and imperturbable optimism.

He conducted the struggle in the least felicitous manner possible. The agitation for electoral reform was universal. Its leaders—men like Duvergier de Hauranne, Rémusat, &c., of extremely moderate views, and belonging in many instances to the Left Centre — organised banquets at which numberless speeches were made in favour of an extension of the suffrage. One of these banquets was announced for the 22nd of February, when all at once the Government forbade its taking place. Immediately, in spite of the Press, which preached patience, in spite even of the secret societies, which did not think the moment favourable for a rising, the workmen of the Faubourg St.-Antoine assembled in the streets. On the 22nd, and still more on the 23rd, there was fighting, and, strange to say, even the National Guard, composed chiefly of small shopkeepers, cried "Vive la Réforme" with the best of the insurgents.

Finding himself thus deserted by the men who had given him the throne, and on whose fidelity he thought he could count, the King took alarm. On the night of the 23rd–24th of February he appointed

Bugeaud to the command of Paris, and called upon the Left Centre and the members of the "Dynastic Left," such as Thiers and Odilon Barrot, to form a Ministry. Too late! The insurgents were already in possession of the capital. On the 24th, at midday, Louis-Philippe abdicated in favour of his infant grandson, the Count de Paris. Again too late! The Chamber was invaded by the mob, and, acting thus under popular pressure, it elected a Provisional Government, composed of Lamartine, Dupont (de l'Eure), Ledru-Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, Arago, and Garnier-Pagès, who, adjourning to the Hôtel de Ville, summoned Louis Blanc to join them, and proclaimed the Republic.

X.

LETTERS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES FROM 1815 TO 1848.

LETTERS.

A LONG period of peace produced an exuberant growth of literature under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. The best minds of the nation no longer poured forth their blood or wasted their genius on battlefields, but in the intellectual arena they displayed on all sides the vigour and passion and elevation of thought which are necessary to the production of masterpieces.

The Eighteenth Century witnessed the high-water mark of Rationalism. The Nineteenth is pre-eminently the period of historians, both in the proper meaning of the word, and in that other sense in which romance writers may be described as historians, since they reproduce the manners of the day. The consequences of this formidable reaction proved much more important than the episodes of the feverish combat waged by literature against academical forms and filled the half of our present century with three great movements—Christian Renascence, Constitutional Monarchy, and Socialism.

We have seen how Chateaubriand and Mdme. de Staël had dazzled the imagination, and touched the heart, of their readers by that picture of the "suffering modern soul" which, accompanied by descriptions of

the storehouse of materials that which best suited his own temperament, and reduced it to the form required for a finished work of art.

Benjamin Constant's "Adolphe" (1815) was clearly the offspring of Chateaubriand's "René," with all the poetry and all the idealism of the model left out, but with an added fineness of perception, a psychological depth, and an uncompromising sternness of observation to which the older writer was a stranger.

Similarly the enigmatical Julien Sorel of Stendhal's "Le Rouge et le Noir" is the product of a terribly ingenious analysis of character unrelieved by the palest gleam of poetry.

Among other graduates in what might be described as the "School of Despair" are Alfred de Vigny, author of "Military Servitude and Greatness" (1835), that noble, high-souled, and melancholy book wherein, for once only, a proud aristocrat has taken the public into his confidence and revealed the true secret of his hopelessness; Sainte-Beuve, the writer of "Volupté" (1834), whose hero, the mystical, restless, and subtly-dreaming Amaury, buries in a seminary a love too refined to be ever realised; Lamartine, whose "Jocelyn" (1836) combines the purest love with the most poignant bitterness; finally, Alfred de Musset, who, under the name of Octave in the "Confessions d'un Enfant du Siècle" (1836), bewails and reviles the disillusions of his famous sojourn in Italy with George Sand, and unveils all his audacities and all his scruples, as well as describing the strange lassitude which shortened his life.

So far in our survey we have followed one current;

let us now trace another by drawing attention to the brilliant fancy, the dreamy mysticism, and the picturesque descriptions which furnish more particularly the stuff of Romanticism, and of which Madame de Staël, rather than Chateaubriand, was the originator.

First as to time in this connection comes Nodier with "Jean Sbogar" (1818), the chivalrous brigand, with "Trilby" (1822), and "La Fée aux Miettes" (1832), works of fantasy where one may plainly see the influence of Young's "Night Thoughts," and still more of Goethe's Ballads and Hoffmann's Tales.

Next we have Stendhal, whose "Chartreuse de Parme" (written in 1830 and published in 1839) is made up of descriptions of the small Italian principalities with their thousand intrigues of anecdotes

—the first, gentle, melancholy, untamed, and tragic; the second, alert, gay, coquettish, and dangerously vicious.

Victor Hugo's "Han d'Islande" (1823) and "Bug Jargal" (1826) are picturesque and glowing, while in "Nôtre-Dame de Paris" (1831) he transforms the building into a kind of colossal living thing which feels and thinks and speaks, as it towers above the swarming and parti-coloured crowds of mediæval Paris.

Theophile Gautier, in his "Jeune France" (1833) and "Mademoiselle de Maupin" (1835), gives free play to an unbridled fancy on the look-out for extraordinary, or rather extra-natural, sensations, which fatigues the admiring reader at last by its excess of colour and picturesqueness.

All these novels have merit, without doubt—merit and beauty—but they lack the strong originality and boldness of conception which would stamp their authors as creators. We find these qualities, on the other hand, in George Sand and Balzac: one being the head of the idealist school, the other passing for being the chief of realists.

George Sand is indeed idealist in the sense that her imagination is greater than her perspicacity, and what she thinks is more than really exists. She differs from the Romanticists by the harmonious simplicity of her form, the unexaggerated freshness of her colouring, and, above all, by the fact that she seeks her protagonists among the humbler classes and tillers of the soil. Up to now, all heroes of romance had been aristocrats—if not actually by birth, at least in thought and feeling.

Nevertheless, George Sand owed much to Chateaubriand, whose works she had largely read. Like him she went for the materials of her novels to her own store of emotions, her own experience of grief, retailing with all the feverishness, the exaggeration, and the eloquence of genius, her life, her passion, her vengeance, and her love.

"Indiana" (1832) represents the feminine type—the weak being whose passions are repressed, or, one might say, suppressed by law—whose love hurls itself blindly against the obstacles created by civilisation. The work was born of the bitter disappointment which her unhappy marriage brought to the writer. "Valentine" (1832) is another variation on the same theme of an ill-assorted union springing from merely conventional considerations. In "Jacques" (1834) the

(1845), and "Le Péché de M. Antoine" (1847); wherein all systems figure in turn, including Théosophy and Communism.

Politico-social questions hampered her genius however, and she soon abandoned them for a new manner. In 1846 appeared the exquisite idyl, "La Mare au Diable," a romance of the fields; which was followed by "La Petite Fadette" (1848) and "François le Champi" (1850), two masterpieces of a style hitherto unknown to French literature, where the idyl had consisted merely in an insipid adaptation from the Greek.

Balzac differs in an even greater degree than George Sand from the Romanticists. He has a strong, precise perception of reality, an instinctive knowledge of life, and the power of making his personages live, joined to the faculty for analysis and for systematic arrangement which usually distinguishes a man of science. He hits the essential truth of things even while generalising. His method of summing up all his works in one, and of reproducing the same characters in a hundred different situations, gives an effect of incomparable power. His defects are those of his qualities: fertility and force producing incorrectness of style, pedantry, interminable digressions, chimerical views, and a want of fineness and critical perception.

One needs only to pass in review the more celebrated volumes of "La Comédie Humaine," to see with what completeness and what security of touch Balzac has reproduced the society of the period in which he lived; and with what penetration he per-

ceived the new conditions imposed upon the furious pursuit of material resources, the struggle and the strife of men who only seek to live.

"La Physiologie du Mariage" (1829) was a brutal revelation of conjugal debauch; "La Peau de Chagrin," with its heroine Fœdora, gave high dramatic form to the type of a woman without heart or passion; yet another type, "L'Illustre Gaudissart," appeared as the prince of bagmen; "Eugénie Grandet" (1833) contained a perfect picture of provincial life and the "cheap" existence of dwellers in small country towns. "Le Père Goriot" (1835) remains for all time an example of the excesses, sometimes sublime and sometimes ridiculous, of paternal affection; "La Recherche de l'Absolu" gives a tragic and powerful representation of a man of science so

is only because his ambition to be all-embracing caused him to waste his force.

Both authors wrote for a fairly cultivated public. And as they obtained both fame and money, the idea occurred to other writers to address themselves directly to the masses, and to reach them at once by the device of the daily serial.

Eugène Sue, by thus publishing his "Mystères de Paris" in the columns of the *Siècle*, operated a literary revolution. From that moment the unlimited popular success of the novel was assured, its appeal being addressed to a public of simple minds with a taste for the marvellous, and small powers of analysis.

Fiction then entered on a new stage, and not only lost in beauty of style, but was subjected to a peculiar species of literary torture—the invention, namely, of extraordinary intrigues over-stimulating to the reader's curiosity, accompanied by great pomp of sentiment and by socialistic professions vaguer in nature than the utterances of the greater writers, but probably all the more dangerous.

Eugène Sue also published in 1844–45 the "Wandering Jew," wherein he originated, under the name of "Rodin," the well-known type of the Jesuit fortune-hunter who recoils neither from assassinations nor poisonings, as well as numberless other characters which to-day are forgotten.

Alexandre Dumas is the most prolific and the most talented of the popular romancers. About the year 1825 he had devoured Walter Scott, Goethe, and Schiller, at that time very fashionable, as well as Barante's "History of the Dukes of Burgundy"; and this course

of reading determined his vocation. Gifted with a very fertile imagination, and a strong liking for adventurous characters, full of fire and readiness, gaiety and wit, he turned for the materials of the greater number of his romances to the reigns of the later Valois and the Regency, which were the periods when adventurers flourished. And by thus presenting French annals in an attractive and, on the whole, exact form, he spread a knowledge of history not only among the masses in his own country, but throughout the whole world. We may name "La Reine Margot" (1845), "La Dame de Montsoreau" (1846), "Les Trois Mousquetaires" (1844), "Vingt Ans Après" (1845), "Le Vicomte de Bragelonne" (1847), (all evoking memories of St. Bartholomew), "The Court of Henri

To sum up, then, the Novel, until 1848, with a few exceptions, remained a romantic product; but as it approached the date of the new Revolution, its character gradually altered and was finally quite transformed. The love of the marvellous, the yearning for the Infinite, all the exaggerations of idealism were destined to be swept away by the whirlwind of those material aspirations which the Novel itself had contributed to formulate by giving expression to the utopian ideas of Socialism, and spreading them abroad on the wings of popular literature.

THE STAGE.

It was not without effort that the Novel had attained to this prodigious development. Every radical change disturbs some habits, injures some interests, and rouses bitter discontent.

The French public loved abstractions, precise, severe methods and correctness of style too much not to be often offended and disgusted by the sudden apparition in literature of historical verities and undisguised passion, of license of form and a glow of description.

The disciples of the new school had to reply to very vehement attacks from their adversaries, and nobody was ever more ridiculed or aspersed than Victor Hugo, George Sand, Balzac, Dumas, and Théophile Gautier.

As long as these virulent onslaughts took place in *salons* or newspaper offices their echo did not penetrate to the ear of the great public. It was different when the battle was transferred to the theatre, and

there waged with all the added impressiveness of scenic effects. It swelled to the proportions of an epic, and the victory which the Romanticists finally carried off from the Classicists was crushing and conclusive.

Of late years endless discussions have arisen over the precise meaning of this word Romanticism; but in 1830 everybody understood it too well to require any definition. The Classic School represented French art in its traditional form and methods, without regard to the fact that the form no longer commanded obedience and that the methods were worn out. The Romantic School desired to rejuvenate Art by giving it a new dress and a new colouring, by representing human nature with its real passions and weaknesses,

Siciliennes" (1819), or Lebrun's "Marie Stuart" (1820). But Victor Hugo's preface to "Cromwell" (1827) dealt it a first fatal blow.

Hugo took for models the Bible, Homer, and Shakespeare, and rejecting the theory of the three unities, he adopted the new rule of contrast—that is to say, the perpetual antithesis between good and evil, beauty and grotesqueness, the world and nature, fate and providence, laughter and tears. He worked out a theory of the drama, and by contrasting it with tragedy, compassed the ruin of the latter. A new language followed necessarily on this transformation, and was defined by Hugo in the following terms:—"We want a free form of verse—an honest, loyal poetry which shall courageously say everything without false shame, express everything without affectation, and pass naturally from comedy to tragedy, from the sublime to the grotesque; which shall overcome the monotony of the Alexandrine by an apt employment of the cæsura; and prefers the carrying on of one line into another to an inversion which obscures the sense; which shall be faithful to rhyme—that enslaved Queen—the supreme charm of our poetry, inexhaustible in its variety, elusive in its elegance and its composition,—which shall avoid tirades and delight in dialogue."

We know that Hugo carried out his programme entirely. His audacious innovations scandalised the classics even more than his attack upon acknowledged rules.

The first attempts at reform were timid. Casimir Delavigne gave up unity of place in his "Marino

Faliero" (1829); and Soumet, in "Une Fête de Néron" (1829), achieved a compromise between tragedy and the latent aspirations of the public towards the movement and glow of drama.

In 1830, Victor Hugo produced "Hernani," wherein he reduced to practice the system which he had adopted in "Cromwell," a drama unadapted for the stage. Every point was excessive, heroic, superhuman. The characterisation of the ancient drama gave way to theatrical effects, and personages, action, and plot were subordinated to "staging" and costume. But extravagance of action and falseness of colouring were alike forgiven for the sake of lyrical style. The evening of the 25th of February is famous in the history of literature. The rival schools indulged in a free fight, but the genius

were the pieces composing an extraordinary, fantastic series, wherein the abuse of the method of contrast destroys all verisimilitude in the characters and their surroundings, but which is admirably effective, sparkling with life and gaiety, and superbly lyrical in style.

In 1831, Alexandre Dumas produced "Antony," an astonishing production of which the essential meaning, the *leitmotiv*, lies wholly in the final phrase, "She resisted me. I have assassinated her." The piece caused immense scandal, but Antony the "*beau ténébreux*," the prince of morbid lovers, obtained a great success, especially with women. "La Tour de Nesles" appeared in 1832. Its scenic effect was incontestable, but its plot contained the most terrific accumulation of massacres, abominations, and crimes which had ever been presented to the public. It was followed by other historical dramas, namely, in 1837 by "La Reine Margot"; in 1839 by "Mademoiselle de Belle Isle"; and in 1843 by "Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr."

There remains to be noticed the "Chatterton" of Alfred de Vigny (1835), a morbid, poignant, and eloquent drama, the most remarkable of all the Romantic school, and which, more than any of its predecessors, roused passionate emotion among the spectators. The *dénouement* of the piece, containing the death of the loving, faithful Kitty—a death so tragic and simple as to exalt its heroine into a martyr of conjugal duty—appeared sufficiently immoral in the eyes of the public to be denounced from the Tribune of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Classicists made an attempt to defend them-

selves by other means than protestations, cat-calls, hisses, and appeals to Government.

The most brilliant opponent of the Romanticists was Viennet, who once defiantly said, "These changes of place, this license of time, these prologues and the rest suit me not at all, and I shall remain in this respect the last of the Romans." He produced various tragedies strictly classical in form, of which the least bad were "Clovis" (1830) and "Arbogaste" (1841).

Ancelot, an old man now, wrote "Maria Padilla," which was acted in 1838; and Ponsard followed with "Lucrèce" in 1843, and "Agnes de Méranie" three years later. The respectable delusion that these authors were keeping alive the traditions of common sense and of true French art was fostered

was as religious as Chateaubriand and in the same manner, and he shared Madame de Staël's vigorous hatred of Napoleon.

His religious and philosophical conceptions were very lofty and clothed in language of enchanting harmony.

His "Méditations poétiques" (1820), "Nouvelles Meditations" (1823), "Harmonies poétiques et religieuses" (1830), and "Chute d'un Ange" (1838), had for their themes the struggle of the human soul with the problems of destiny, the metempsychosis of the mind, Providence, and the beneficent influence of nature and solitude, all expressed in melodious verse full of freshness and of bold, original imagery. It was said of Lamartine that he had summoned poetry from Parnassus, and, in place of the lyre with seven chords, had given the muse the human heart to play on with all its strings vibrating to the innumerable thrills of nature and the soul. On the whole, he has left only uncertain utterances, vague but harmonious, and as such corresponding to the dreamy aspirations of high-toned women, and soothing to the proud grief of disillusioned souls. These qualities ensure Lamartine's immortality. For the rest, he judged himself with absolute correctness. "I have had soul, it is true; and that is all. I have rendered some notes that came from the heart. Soul is, however, sufficient for feeling, but not for expression. Time has failed me for a perfect work, but that is because I have wasted time—that capital of genius."

In reality Lamartine does not belong to the

Romanticists. He approaches more nearly to Chateaubriand, and nearer still to Madame de Staël, whom he completes, so to speak, as a poet, just as Guizot completed her as an historian.

tagious, and their colour dyes off upon other minds." Victor Hugo was permeated with the style of Chateaubriand himself. His imagination was extraordinarily powerful, and he possessed the power of assimilating Nature and incarnating surroundings, every aspect of which he rendered with prodigious intensity and exaggeration.

It was this same faculty, reacting from his mind on his character, which resulted in those variations of political conduct with which he has frequently been reproached. In point of fact, he did not vary; he only received the impression in turn of every opinion that prevailed throughout his long existence —Legitimism, Bonapartism, Republicanism, Socialism, —he absorbed them all, and, after the delay necessary for assimilation, reproduced them with such entire good faith as to prove that he was successively convinced of the truth of each one of them.

In this way he passed from Chateaubriand to Madame de Staël, from Legitimism to Liberalism; in this way he joined the disciples of the Romantic school in 1824, and straightway rose to the first place among them. He affirmed Thought to be "virgin and fruitful soil, whereon ideas spring freely, and, so to speak, by chance." In 1829 he published "Les Orientales," which, in the history of poetry, marked a date as important as the production on the stage of "Hernani." It realised, less in substance, perhaps, than in form and rhythm, a portion of the programme which the Romanticists had assigned to poetry, and which was well described by Sainte-Beuve in the following words :—

"It is sought to restore truth, naturalness, a familiar tone even to French poetry, and at the same time to revive its firmness of style and brilliancy, to teach it anew how to express things that for nearly a century past it has forgotten, to instruct it in others which it has not yet learnt, to enable it to express the emotions of the soul and the least shades of thought, and to reflect external nature not only by colouring and imagery, but sometimes also by a simple and happy juxtaposition of syllables; to make it show itself in airy fancy, invested with any form it may choose and clothed with delicate grace; to give it, in great subjects, the movement and step of groups and combinations (*ensembles*); to suggest in an ode, and not inadequately, the great music of the day or the features of Gothic architecture," &c.

aspiring, like Lamartine, to influence his fellow-citizens by some more direct means than the writing of fiction. In the first stage of his career he had stood revealed as one of the greatest of French lyrists, and very largely contributed to restore beauty of form to the French language, and to renew its methods of versification.

Alfred de Vigny, stronger than Lamartine and more philosophical than Victor Hugo, was also, if the truth must be told, the one great thinker of the Romantic school. But while Victor Hugo could render every voice of nature and every accent of the human heart, De Vigny has but one note, very pure, indeed, very strong, altogether dominant, which may be described as the cry of yearning loneliness. "Eloa" (1824), "Moise," "Le Déluge," "La Colère de Samson" (1822–26) rank with the finest poems in French literature, and they are, moreover, original, in that they unite the substance of Romanticism to a purely classic form.

Alfred de Musset was also a victim of the *mal du siècle*, but he soon learnt to make fun of Lamartinian whimpers. Nevertheless he tried, with George Sand, the experiment of realising a romantic ideal of love, and all he gained from this insensate attempt was to feel the full bitterness of passion and to sow the seeds of immeasurable and incurable suffering. On the other hand, he shows himself a great lyrical poet in the elegies entitled "Les Nuits" (1835–37), and he created an original philosophy which consisted in regarding memory (*Le Souvenir*) as the one remedy for the ills of life, the one guardian of

happiness and love, since it remains, sweet and consolatory, after grief is over and love is dead and happiness has vanished.

Musset was for a long time the poet by preference of youthful readers, whom he attracted by his lively pictures of love, his sensibility, his dandyism, and the other inferior sides of his genius. A voracious reader, he was familiar with ancients and moderns, with English and German, and he united in his own person almost all the characteristic features of his epoch. His "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie" (1830), his Tyrol in "La Coupe et les Lèvers" (1835) are quite false to nature—as false as Hugo's descriptions of the Rhine and Stendhal's pictures of Italy, which they further resemble in being unmistakably inspired by Madame de Staël.

considering, Gautier had not yet shown all that he was capable of as a poet. His strange and fiery poem "Albertus," published in 1832, is an exaggerated application of Hugo's law of contrasts. In his "Comédie de la Mort" (1838) he shows himself preoccupied, like so many others at the moment (only less profoundly, for he was no thinker), with the problem of man's end.

But he was far from resembling his contemporaries in another point, their interest, namely, in politics, for the *bourgeois* inspired him with hatred and repulsion, and he was a fanatical exponent of the Art for Art's sake theory.

Béranger and Auguste Barbier, on the contrary, found in politics the source of all their inspiration. Béranger gently rallied Napoleon in the "Roi d'Yvetôt" (1813), but hurled invectives at the invading Allies, and peppered the Restoration with sarcasms. His poems attacking nobles, priests, and the censorship of the press were sung throughout the length and breath of France. The Government took alarm, and threw the singer into prison. The Revolution of 1830 set him free, and thenceforth, his importance enhanced by the aureole of martyrdom, he conducted an incessant campaign against the abuses of Constitutional monarchy, and became in turn a Republican, an Imperialist, and a Socialist.

Béranger carried to the point of genius the talent of giving voice to the instincts, the sensations and the ideas of the lower middle-class (*la petite bourgeoisie*) of the period in which he lived. Hence his celebrity, his immense popularity. He was the only really

popular, the only national poet of his time; but his chief glory resulted from ephemeral causes, and vanished with the events and the manners to which it owed its existence.

The same must be said of Barbier, who produced one work, "Les Iambes" (1831), after the Revolution of July, which caused a great sensation as being in perfect harmony with the excited state of the public mind, but was forgotten in the calm that followed.

HISTORY.

In 1834, Augustin Thierry expressed the belief that "History would stamp the nineteenth century for its own, just as Philosophy had done for the eighteenth." Our preceding sketch has already demonstrated the truth of this prophecy. The most

in the manners, the dress, the habits and characteristics of the period, turning for this end to documentary evidence as contained in departmental and communal archives, and in local and private collections.

The present century being combative in its tendencies, party passion is perhaps mainly responsible for the modern historical method. The monarchy, when restored after the French Revolution, needed to prop up its power by appeals to the past, and mere tradition being a broken reed, writers like Joseph de Maistre and Bonald had to seek in the history of the Middle Ages for proof of the rights which they were anxious to establish. Liberals, on the other hand, went to the same sources for a justification of popular sovereignty or, rather, of middle-class supremacy. This double current flowing from the fountain-heads of history grew eventually to a great river, bearing on its breast an immense number of original works and an abundance of discoveries.

Augustin Thierry's vocation for history was determined by a perusal of "Les Martyrs," and led in 1820 to the publication of his "Letters on the History of France," which dealt a fatal blow to the old methods of writers like Mezeray, Garnier, Anquetil, and Velly. He followed up this first attack in a still more masterly fashion in his "History of the Norman Conquest of England" (1825), wherein the whole system of the new school was disclosed. To-day it is no longer possible to write history in the interest of one idea only; the reading public will not stand

it. They require to be told everything; to have described and explained the condition of the nations at every point, and to feel sure that to each century its real place has been assigned with its true atmosphere and value.

Thierry, in his first work, did not rise above political passion. His object was to rehabilitate the middle-classes, so that they might resist the reactionary tendencies of the Government. Consequently he represented the emancipation of the Communes as a true social revolution, the prelude of all those which have successively improved the condition of the Third Estate, and described the events of 1789 and 1830 as being a retaliation for the Frankish Conquest. The same tendency pervades his "Dix Ans d'Études Historiques" (1834), and even the "Histoire du

tatif" (1821–22), and shortly afterwards his "Essais sur l'Histoire de France" (1823), which illuminated all the avenues of history. This was followed by "L'Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre" (1827–28), and by "L'Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en France" (1828–30), which simply took up, amplified and completed the work of Madame de Staël. The guiding principles of these two histories were reverence for justice and love of liberty. Guizot, cold, correct, and always clear, excelled in reconstituting the past with the help of German and English erudition, and in analysing and criticising the doctrines of his predecessors. Ideas alone have attraction for him, but he rendered them in a masterly manner. If he lacks the faculty which Thierry possessed of infusing intense life into his compositions, he is capable of embracing wider views, and of comprehending better the existence, the *rôle*, the relations, development and machinery of the great constitutional bodies of modern life, such as Feudalism, the Church, the Throne, and the Communes. But, like Thierry, he belongs to his time, and refers events to a preconceived design, which is as much as to say that he is orthodox in his beliefs.

The methods of these two masters created, consequently, two schools of history—one picturesque, or descriptive and realistic, the other by preference idealistic.

Alexis de Tocqueville is the most distinguished member of the Philosophical school. In considering the evolution of the century, one fact had struck him particularly—the progress of French society towards democracy; and he went to the United

States in order to observe the working of that form of government. The fruit of his studies, "Democracy in America" (1835–39), is a work of immense intellectual scope, conceived in the spirit of Guizot, written with the same authority but with calmer impartiality, with as rigorous logic but greater depth of thought. No writer has ever understood or explained the system of the United States in a manner superior to De Tocqueville, nor analysed better the influence of democracy on the ideas and manners of a nation, with the corresponding sway which these ideas and manners exercise on political organisation.

Michelet, a disciple of the celebrated Neapolitan Vico, founded the Symbolical school, at once philosophical and picturesque, and dominated by the idea

ledge out of the priceless archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which he was attached officially from 1831. His views are novel and profound, and he excites and carries away his readers. Nevertheless he has certain preconceived ideas and prejudices, and is so impressionable as to fall into contradictory excesses and give a false idea of history. These defects became patent more especially after 1843, when, in company with Edgar Quinet, he published his work on the Jesuits.

Michelet espoused the cause of democracy with fervour, and became an uncompromising enemy of kings and priests. In 1846 he wrote "Le Peuple," and then gave up his great history of France in order to devote himself exclusively to the Revolution (1847–53), in describing which he indulged in wild enthusiasm and extraordinary invectives. These excesses were fatal to his talent, and, as we shall show later, he never found again the serenity and impartiality which, joined to his essential qualities, made his "Moyen Age" the greatest of historical works.

If Michelet was the most unbridled of the Romanticists, Thiers regarded all such eccentricities as savouring of insurrection, and he consequently cannot be described as an artist. Nor is he a philosopher, although he believed that society evolves itself in obedience to regular laws. His principal qualities as an historian are the same as those which he showed in politics—persuasive reasoning power and practical good sense. His history of the Revolution (1823–27) and of the Consulate and Empire (1840 *et seq.*)

are planned with much breadth; but being based on doubtful documents, or, at any rate, on documents too hastily accepted, they abound in inaccuracies. But the narrative is a masterpiece of eloquence, and contains many interesting, pathetic pages, besides offering a luminous picture of politics and finance in one of the most memorable and complex periods of history.

Thiers delighted in battle scenes and descriptions of strategy, which were at one time unanimously admired and are now justly criticised. He was an enthusiastic partisan of Napoleon as military commander, legislator, and administrator, considering him in all three respects the greatest of men; and together with Béranger and Hugo, he is responsible for that Napoleonic legend which produced the Second Empire.

As shown already by the example of Michelet,

through the old routine, prevailing ever since the sixteenth century, by which the only function assigned to Criticism had been a minute search for beauties and defects in literary production.

The new method consisted in taking into account the circumstances under which a work had seen the light, and in studying the psychology of the writer. These principles inspired the lectures of Geoffroy (published 1819–20), and lent them some originality and independence of thought.

Sainte-Beuve published his "Tableau Historique et Critique de la Poésie Française et du Théâtre Français au XVI. Siècle" (1828) with the definite intention of consolidating the Romantic School by finding a national support for it in the past. Sainte-Beuve is an historian in the widest sense of the word, as proved by his magnificent narrative of Port-Royal (1840 *et seq.*), which showed a profound comprehension of the ideas and sentiments of the men and the works belonging to the seventeenth century. But it was only after 1848 that he attained to the full development of his genius, and began to exercise a preponderating influence over literature.

Between 1828 and 1838 the sceptre of the critic was wielded by Villemain. He was the first to ally criticism to history, sociology, and philosophy; the first to seek in manners an explanation for ideas, and to judge a writer's productions with the help afforded by a knowledge of his character. "He raises literary history to the full dignity of history proper," said Augustin Thierry, "making of it a new science of which he is the creator."

Saint-Marc-Girardin is distinguished for having closely connected Morals with Comparative Criticism. He fell into the same exaggeration as Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in his method of Comparative Anatomy. He has original views and luminous notions of relation, but his system gradually leads him to baseless hypotheses and erroneous conclusions.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL THEORIES.

The nearer one approaches to studies wherein imagination should play a smaller part than observation and experience, the less one ought to perceive the influence of Romanticism. But even Economists and Socialists were unable to escape from the strongest tendency of the period. To what but Romanticism can we ascribe that attachment to the Middle Ages

Charles Dunoyer ("Liberté du Travail," 1845) asserts that economical and social phenomena are inseparable. "Services" form the great object of exchange between men; and all value consequently results from human activity, either intellectual or material. Social inequalities must for that very reason be maintained, since they are the condition of division of labour.

Bastiat ("Sophismes Économiques," 1845–48) takes refuge in an imperturbable optimism, but he shows cleverness in criticising social systems and defending "infamous capital" against Proud'hon's attacks.

Auguste Comte originated the historical school of political economy. He founded sociology, marked its place, fixed its boundaries, stated its problem, and defined its principles and its method. He believed that progress is accomplished by evolution.

The same period saw the birth, in France, of socialism, under a strangely mystical and ideal form, which must perhaps be traced to the vague and pompous religiosity of Chateaubriand.

Fourier, the founder of Phalansteries, imagined an ideal and fantastic world wherein capital, labour, and talent should be associated in virtue of an emotional attraction which he deduced from the law of physical attraction.

Saint-Simon reconstructed society on a new basis. He substituted for the social hierarchy, which after the Revolution had remained the same as before 1789, three classes composed respectively of manufacturers (*industriels*), savants, and artists, corresponding to the principal faculties of the human mind. He placed spiritual power in the hands of the *savants*, and

bestowed temporal rule upon the propertied, manufacturing and commercial classes, and, desirous of putting an end to the struggle between the body and the mind which had resulted from misapprehension of the doctrines of Christ, he preached a new religion.

Saint-Simon had considerable influence upon the majority of the great minds of his time; among others, upon Augustin Thierry. The disciples of his school naturally carried the ideas of their master to extremes, and starting from the principle "To every one according to his capacity, and to every capacity according to its works," they arrived at the abolition of inheritance and every privilege of birth, and finally at community of wives.

Proud'hon ("De la Propriété," 1840–41; "Contra-

academy is a legislator. The people is the guardian of law, and forms the executive."

Cabet advocated pure communism, which he embodied in a wondrous novel entitled "L'Icarie" (1841).

Pierre Leroux, who had a deplorable influence over George Sand, desired that property should not be divided, but used in common. He imagined a family in which the wife should no longer be subordinated to the husband or the children to the father, and a State wherein there might be no political power. He also desired to obliterate the difference, so marked in Christianity, between heaven and earth. Future life was to consist in an infinite repetition of terrestial existence without personal identity and without memory. Leroux's principal works are "L'Humanité" (1840); "De la Ploutocratie" (1848); "Du Christianisme" (1848).

Louis Blanc ("Organisation du Travail," 1839; "Cathéchisme des Socialistes," 1849) did not rise so high. He contented himself with advocating national workshops as a remedy for the sufferings of the unemployed, in the belief that the irresistible competition thus created would lead perforce to the closing of private factories. He maintained that the same system should be applied to agriculture, and proposed the abolition of collateral inheritances.

POLEMICS AND ORATORY.

All the great questions which agitated the public mind at this period—whether religion, social problems,

freedom of ritual, of the press, of instruction, the charter, the organisation of the electoral system, revolutionary principles or absolutism—were discussed with identical ardour and intensity in polemical pamphlets, in parliamentary and university centres, and even in the pulpit.

Joseph de Maistre, with his vehemence, his close dialectics, and his transcendent irony, lent authority to the ultramontane section, and worked out the idea of providence which he had first stated in his "Considérations sur la France." He defended the authority of the Church, by which he meant one power only, that of an infallible Pope; and was equally a partisan of royalty, which he wished to have absolute, without limit or control. In "Le Pape" (1819) and "Les Soirées de St. Pétersbourg" (1821), he attacked with

l'Eglise et de l'État. In "Les Paroles d'un Croyant" (1833), which created a profound sensation, he embodied in words by turn vehement and tender, sombre and serene, his dream of a Catholic Democracy, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, and irreconcilably opposed to a Church or State which could oppress the weak.

Montalembert, in vehement pamphlets, endeavoured to organise a party of Catholic Liberals. After 1830, he became the Catholic champion in the Upper Chamber. He was a fighting orator, alert and energetic in speech, prompt in repartee as in apostrophe, but without depth or originality.

Paul-Louis Courier came to the rescue of the malcontents—always an important party under all forms of government—with a series of pamphlets (1816–22) written in a very pure style of incisive satire, in which he deplores the bitterness and fervour of undisciplined Individualism against society. His love of Greek, and his fine, artistic writings, make of Courier the last representative of true classical spirit.

Armand Carrel, biting and satirical, showed himself in the *National* an indefatigable champion of political liberty, and of the external greatness of France.

Cormenin began as a democrat, to pass later into the service of the Church, to which he devoted his eloquent dialectical gifts. He wrote the "Livre des Orateurs," a work of studied eccentricity, written in a glowing style and full of ingenious remarks.

In the Chambers the struggle between the Royalists and the Liberals, and the explosion of party passion

consequent on the Revolution of July, produced a brilliant group of orators.

First came the friends of Madame de Staël, Mathieu de Montmorency, Camille Jordan, the Duke de Broglie, and above all de Serre, who "put the most soul into politics." To these must be added Benjamin Constant, who, unsparing in analysis, devoted his incisive and insolent powers of speech to the support of one thesis: the obligation of the State to defend the rights of individuals, and the claim of individuals to revolt if the State hindered their freedom in the exercise of these rights.

Next came the *doctrinaires*, disciples of Royer-Collard, the apostle of legitimacy, whose slow speech and solemn, clear, precise eloquence, with its abundance of ideas and sober imagery, exercised an in-

so doing he was protecting France in the persons of the middle classes, whose ideas he regarded as the utterances of Reason itself.

Berryer was a powerful improvisatore, of sonorous delivery and authoritative gesture, always ardent, by turns majestic and terrible, and he pleaded the cause of fallen royalty with that peculiar eloquence of the advocate of which the impression fades with the passing moment. This was the characteristic which made Louis Blanc remark that Berryer's "sterile omnipotence stirred up passions which it could not guide."

Casimir Périer, another opponent of revolutionary tendencies, was a passionate and impetuous speaker, inclined to noisy outbursts, to crushing apostrophes, and redoubtable whims of attack.

Lamartine was prodigal of lyrical passages, of highly coloured imagery and melodious sentiment. He delighted his hearers without convincing them, perhaps because his only ambition in debate was to contribute those ideas of justice, generosity, and humanity which are peculiar to poets but do not correspond to the respective interests of political parties.

Thiers, self-willed and autocratic, very shrewd and clear-headed and self-possessed, showed always a great knowledge of affairs, and was convincing through his power of reasoning, his practical common sense, and penetration. He had a great mastery of facts and figures, and could shed a flood of light on the most difficult subjects.

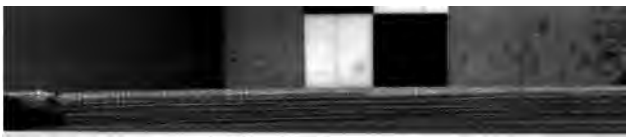
Even the pulpit had its Romanticists in Lacordaire

("Conférences de Notre Dame," 1835 and 1843), a bold and impassioned preacher who held the ear of the crowd by his inspired flights, and his breadth of illustration, as well as by the charm of his attitude, while for the young there was a potent attraction in the wide liberalism of his principles.

The Classicists were represented by Père de Ravignan. He was a measured, sober speaker, an able and persuasive dialectician, large of gesture, ascetic in appearance, and deriving great power from his strong convictions and authoritative character.

PHILOSOPHY.

Dualism reigned also in the serene regions of pure philosophy, where electicism was opposed to



20) gave the name of Eclecticism to everything which was true in the philosophical systems of all countries and all times. He crowned his work by placing an abstract generalisation, the Ideal, above the reality of all individual things. His vast inquiry into the views of all thinkers had, at least, this merit, that it inaugurated the history of Philosophy in France. But without any deep discussion of the subject it is easy to see that a system such as Cousin's is literary rather than scientific, and one may ask whether he, by spreading it everywhere, and availing himself of his eloquence and authoritative position to give it an official stamp, did not contribute more than anybody to suffocate for a long time in France all attempts at original philosophical speculation.

Cousin had a brilliant disciple in Jouffroy, a man of fine perceptions and an accomplished writer, who was the first to recognise the imperfections of the master's doctrine. The axiom, "Phenomena only are the object of immediate consciousness," seemed to him of more than doubtful truth, and he was thus led to proclaim that Man can arrive in himself at the principle which produces phenomena, and this principle Jouffroy named the Ego. In other words, the Soul comes by reflection to an immediate consciousness of Itself.

The failure of Metaphysics to solvè the problems of existence and to determine the nature of God and the human soul, induced Auguste Comte to found Positivism ("Système de Philosophie Positive," 1824; "Cours de Philosophie Positive," 1839–42), the starting-point of which he found in the doctrines of Saint-Simon

and in that of various physiologists, among others Broussais.

Comte taught that we can only have knowledge of facts through their relation with other facts, and so *ad infinitum*. He consequently denied Causality.

Positivism as a system consists in the Law of the Three States, or, if preferred, the Three Epochs of Thought and Science; namely, the religious period, the metaphysical period, and the scientific period. Therefore its task is to determine the more general relations of the objects of the different sciences.

In his Classification, which is one of the great achievements of human thought, Comte demonstrated that mathematical science is universal, and forms the only foundation of all natural philosophy. Philosophy,

men; it had rites and ceremonies, and in Humanity it had even a God.

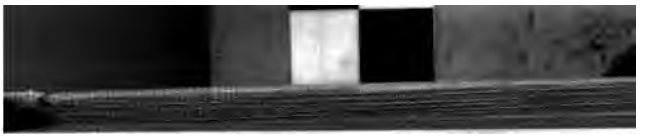
ART.

Artists have always sought in literature for their subjects; consequently it is not to be wondered at that Romanticism in the sphere of letters should have produced a corresponding revolution in Art. And since artists are even more impressionable and high-strung than writers, the struggle between the Romantic and the Classical schools in the studios grew to epical proportions. The exaggerations into which both parties fell make the period between 1815 and 1848 one of the liveliest and most curious in the history of French Art.

PAINTING.

In 1815 the Classical school reigned alone. It filled the Institute, dominated the Salon, and monopolised State patronage. The public, from habit, accorded its sole favour to the "coloured bas-relief," as this cold and conventional style has been termed. But already for ten years previously a number of young men, fervent admirers of the word-painting of Chateaubriand, were inspired with the idea of emulating his example on canvas, and began to rise in revolt against the "puppets" in theatrical postures of David and Gros. Géricault, in 1812, painted "An Officer of Chasseurs on Horseback," followed in 1814 by a "Wounded Cuirassier," both vigorous and living works, which yet passed almost unperceived, in spite of the manner in which the painter had realised the

beauty and grandeur of the modern soldier. Nevertheless Géricault, with his power of rendering violent movement and strength of expression, had struck the great blow which was to rouse the public from its traditional mood of admiration, and reveal to it a new manner of art. His "Raft of the Medusa" (1819), thanks to its strong originality, its spirited execution, and wild grandeur, produced an indescribable sensation, followed by an angry outburst of opposition. The Classicists quoted against it such examples as Picot's "Cupid and Psyche," or Girodet's "Galatea," but these did not suffice to stem the mounting tide of Romanticism, and the Classicists had to open their ranks to Ingres. This painter had studied in Italy the masterpieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and preached the beauty of the Raphaelesque



mythology, and finally was attracted by religious incidents ("St. Symphorien," painted in 1834, and "Jesus among the Doctors," 1842). He was such a firm adherent of Classicism as to exclude Shakespeare from the group of great men in his "Apotheosis of Homer" (1827).

Ingres was a great painter, enamoured of perfection in line and stroke, and he attained to a decorative, almost sculptural, serenity united to a somewhat neutral tone of colour which is not wanting in charm. He excelled in the expression of his faces and in soft outlines of form, but he was cold, and had no feeling for landscape. The seascape in his "Roger and Angelica" (1819) is extraordinarily weak. He might have acted, however, as a counterpoise to Romanticism.

But when Géricault died prematurely he was succeeded by Delacroix. Naturally impetuous, yet full of self-control, the latter was eminently adapted to resist Ingres. The two were in complete contrast. Delacroix, instead of delineating a contour with precision, would indicate a movement, and he gave the *ensemble* of a physiognomy rather than its peculiar lineaments. He excelled in surrounding his personages with dramatic skies, magnificent waves, vigorous sweeps of ground; and, as a colourist, he always sought for glowing effects. His "Dante and Virgil," exhibited in 1822, excited the opposition of the Classical camp, who protested against the painter's abuse of dramatic expression, the exaggeration of his sentiment, and those artifices of composition which, it was alleged, "made all parts of the painting contribute to the

rendering of some factitious emotion." The "Massacre at Scio" (1824) placed Delacroix in the position of a party-leader. Of this picture Théophile Gautier wrote: "These horrible scenes, rendered with unflinching brutality, the feverish, convulsive design, the violent colouring and furious brush-work excited the reprobation of the Classicists, and delighted all the young painters by the boldness of a novel method which nothing had taught the public to expect."

Invective was clothed in Homeric metaphors, when as, for instance, Delacroix was accused of daubing his canvasses "with a drunken broom!" But the artist imperturbably pursued his way. For his magnificent series of lithographs from "Faust" he drew his inspiration from Goethe; for "Hamlet" he

Devouring a Horse" and "Tigers at Play"; for Delacroix excelled in rendering all styles, all epochs, all climates, and all civilisations.

Equally with Hugo he carried off victories for the

EUGÈNE DELACROIX.

Romanticists. He had a novel theory of Art which he formulated in the phrases, "Art exists chiefly through expression." "The value of a work of Art is measured by the amount it reproduces of the sentiment (*émotion*) of its author."

Delacroix's dominating qualities, in fact, were poetic fervour, devouring passion, and the delight of absolutely exhausting the emotion produced in him by the inception of a work. Like Shakespeare he had an insatiable desire for violent and savage emotion joined to the same tragic conception of life, the same lofty and philosophical comprehension of the sadness, the sombreness, and unrest of all living things, whether human or brute. It is this perception which makes the unity and grandeur of his work.

Ary Scheffer belonged to the Romantic party chiefly because of his fanatical admiration for Dante and Goethe. He was a dreamer and a mystic, yet also a philosopher, and has left some remarkable works, such as "Faust and Margaret" (1831), "Faust

Delacroix's influence was limited chiefly to artists. He alarmed his contemporaries, and it was left for posterity to do him full justice. The success of Romanticism among the public at large must be chiefly attributed to Horace Vernet, who was gifted with powers of observation, a prodigious memory, and great facility of conception and of execution. Already in 1819 his reputation had been made by his "Massacre of the Mamelukes" and a whole series of pictures relating to the First Empire which have contributed a share to the formation of the Napoleonic legend ("The Dog of the Regiment," "The Trumpeter's Horse," "The Soldier of Waterloo," "The Soldier-Labourer").

Between 1830 and 1833 he produced his finest works, "The Pope's Walk," "Judith and Holofernes," "The Brigand's Confession." A voyage into Africa produced the fine Biblical scenes, "Rebecca and Eleazar," "Hagar and Abraham," "The Good Samaritan," also the charming *genre* pictures, "The Arab's Prayer," "The Desert Sentinel," "A Lion Hunt," and various battle scenes, interesting from the correctness of detail, the diversity of costume, the beauty of the horses, and the charm of the landscapes. Among these the most celebrated are "The Taking of La Smala" and "Episodes of the Siege of Constantine."

Horace Vernet excelled in the art of grouping and the broad treatment of masses.

Decamps painted bright *genre* pictures and dazzling Eastern scenes ("Break-up of a Turkish School," "Halt of Arab Horsemen," &c.). His "Night

Rounds" made a great sensation. He was a fertile and varied painter, and succeeded in deriving original effects from his familiarity with the works of Rembrandt and his acquaintance with the East.

Eugène Deveria left a magnificent painting of the "Birth of Henry IV." (1827), and Hippolyte Flandrin was the author of some fine religious frescoes.

LITHOGRAPHY AND DESIGN.

There has never been in France so brilliant a constellation of draughtsmen as during the Restoration and the July Government. Almost all the great painters produced remarkable lithographs.

Delacroix's works in this line have already been mentioned, and to these should be added the "Lon-

Unfortunately, by representing the "Chauvinism" of his grumblers in the light of a favourable contrast to Parliamentarism, he has helped to diffuse among the masses the false idea that liberty and Imperialism were one and the same. His pupil Rafflet followed in the same path. He produced a masterpiece in the "Nocturnal Review" (1848).

Gavarni, original in execution and able in his method, was one of the greatest of French draughtsmen. He travelled indefatigably, and first attracted attention by his Basque interiors, costumes, and manners. Later he did some pretty fashion plates (1830 to 1838), and became a keen and profound observer of Parisian manners. The absurdities, the vices, and the trickeries of the capital found in him the most incisive of satirists. His students, his actresses, his *lorettes*, his *enfants terribles*, his costume balls, his female authors, his men in the street, are not less remarkable for their correct drawing than for the originality and sarcasm of their texts.

Daumier was a creator of types, such as Bastien and Robert, the legendary assassins; M. Persil the magistrate, who is capable of anything which may ensure his success in life; and last, but not least, Robert Macaire. Daumier was incomparable as a painter of the Orleanist *bourgeoisie*, with its legal functionaries, its taxpayers, its landlords and tenants, and its philanthropists. As a political controversialist he was of redoubtable strength. His "Legislative Belly," and the invention of a pear to represent the head of Louis Philippe, contributed not a little to the discredit of the July Monarchy.

Cham was not philosophical like Gavarni, nor politically of importance like Daumier. Rather was he the Paul de Kock of design. He limited himself to reproducing the smaller incidents of the street and of everyday life. His personages are insignificant citizens, nursemaids, and soldiers, but in his line he is unsurpassable.

Grandville was inferior as a caricaturist to the above-named trio of genius. His talent was real, but he pushed too far the style which had first made his success by endowing animals, plants, and even inanimate objects with the physiognomy, the passions and the absurdities of man. He achieved popularity by attacking the House of Orleans and its following in the prints known as "The Funeral Train of Liberty," "The Poultry-yard," and "The Greased

Ney, for instance, is theatrical rather than tragic, and the violent attitude of the figure is wanting altogether in grandeur. On the other hand, some of his works, such as "Mercury Binding on his Talaria" (1827) and "The Neapolitan Fisher-boy," are full of classical beauty.

David d'Angers endeavoured to create a national art. His principle was to render the soul of a great man by interpreting his moral side with the help of physiology. He made an interesting innovation in his manner of draping the nude, and from this point of view his statue of Condé (1817) is remarkable. The monument of Bonchamp (1824) and the "Fénélon" (1826) have an interest as being applications to historical statuary of the theory of the sculptor that the decorative details of the basement should all be related to the principal theme.

His masterpiece in this line is the monument to General Foy (1827), set about with the most distinguished men of the period, such as Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, Casimir Périer, Benjamin Constant, Hugo, &c. Another example is the pediment of the Panthéon, with the innumerable medallions which entitle the sculptor to be described as the historiographer of his time.

Pradier was more essentially classical, and kept up the tradition of elegant grace, purity of line, finish, and voluptuous delicacy. He chose the nude by preference, having a great talent for reproducing the folds of the flesh, and the texture and fineness of the skin. His figures are almost all perfect, good examples being the "Bacchante" (1819), the "Psyche" (1824),

the "Three Graces" (1831), "Venus and Love" (1836), "Phryne" (1845), and "Sappho" (1848).

Clésinger was a sculptor of power and energy, but he was very unequal, and failed in carrying out his own colossal conceptions. By a curious contradiction, such of his works as are likely to prove enduring are precisely those which are notable for grace, like the "Woman Bitten by a Serpent" (1847), the "Bacchante" (1848), and busts which in their living, breathing charm are the forerunners of the works of Carpeaux.

Barye is the creator of a whole branch of art. Before his time the sculpture of animals was looked upon as inferior, and the public was only acquainted with the classical lion resting its paw on a ball and

fountains "Gaillon" (1824), "Louvois" (1835), "Molière" (1841), St. Sulpice (1842), and Napoleon's tomb in the Invalides (1842), the work of the same artist.

All architecture was classic, and obedient to the strictest formula of the Académie des Beaux Arts, which was destined for a long time to imitate Greek and Roman monuments exclusively. It was only in 1837, when the Commission of Historical Monuments was nominated, that a movement of renascence was perceptible, and the habit began of seeking the elements of a new art in buildings on French soil and adapted to French customs and characters. At first religious inspiration prevailed, and this was the sentiment which presided over Lenoir's restoration of the Hôtel de Cluny, and the works of Lassus at St. Germain l'Auxerrois (1856), the Sainte-Chapelle (1840), and Nôtre Dame (1845).

MUSIC.

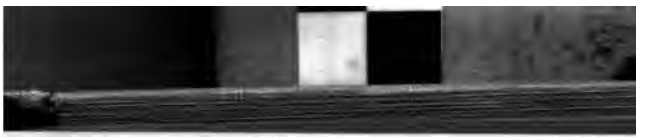
Musicians were much more affected by the new ideas. Boieldieu was the recognised exponent of the French school. His talent, which was pleasing, graceful, and exhilarating, may be found entire in "La Dame Blanche" (1825), a comic opera which, by increase of orchestration and a florid style of song, formed the connecting link between the purely French genius of Méhu, and the Italo-French school which imitated Rossini.

Hérold is of the same order, possessing qualities of measure, of intelligence, of sober vigour; he sometimes achieves a dramatic effect, but real strength of

inspiration is lacking to him. His masterpieces are "Zampa" (1831) and "Le Pré aux Clercs" (1832).

Halévy represents the pompous, conventional, and occasionally imposing style which reigned on the French stage during more than half a century. He is emotional, powerful, and has an instinct of great theatrical effects, but his method is vulgar. Halévy's style is essentially narrative, and "La Juive" (1835), "L'Éclair" (1835), "Les Mousquetaires de la Reine" (1846), and "Charles VI." (1843), furnished historic opera with its most important formulas.

Auber pleases always by his melodiousness and the facile tunes which dwell easily in the memory. Almost all his operas, "La Muette de Portici" (1828), "Fra Diavolo" (1830), "Le Domino Noir" (1841),



emotion, lofty love, picturesqueness, poetry, fancy —all are there. Meyerbeer, in the universality of his style and the variety of his forms, is a marvellous link between the old and the new schools of music.

The masters of romantic music, Berlioz and Félicien David, achieved a mixture of the Ode Symphony and the Dramatic Symphony; and created a French style which had less movement than the drama, but was less severe than the oratorio.

Berlioz was an ardent student of Weber, Glück, Beethoven, Shakespeare, Byron, and Hugo. His "Symphonie Fantastique"—a vehement, exaggerated composition—was followed by the dramatic symphony "Romeo et Juliette" (1839), and the "Damnation de Faust" (1846), which is the most faithful of all musical transcriptions of Goethe's masterpiece. Berlioz obtained little success at the theatre, as he would not make any concession to stage conventions of which he could only see the paltry side. His "Benvenuto Cellini" (1838) was outrageously hissed in spite of its admirable score and its picturesque fancy. The composer by his combativeness made too many enemies for success, but even when most abused his genius enabled him to exercise an immense influence.

Félicien David was, in a sense, a painter, and the creator of the specialty of musical orientalism. His instrumentation absorbed the attention of his listeners, and he began to make his reputation in 1844 with "Le Desert." We shall return to him after 1848.

SCIENCE.

It would seem as if Romanticism had influenced

even Science. For between 1815 and 1848, it is not mathematical but physical sciences which make the greatest progress: that is to say, those sciences which demand the most imagination. Moreover, the resounding war waged between Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire recalls combats of the Romanticists and Classicists in the arena of Arts and Letters.

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY.

Cauchy reconstituted entirely the theory of imaginary functions, and his labours resulted in the most striking progress which mathematical analysis has accomplished in this century.

Leverrier resumed the calculation of planetary inequalities. He defined the irregularities of the earth's motion round the sun; completed the theory of

Fresnel in 1820 invented the lens known by his name, and, in conjunction with Arago, the lantern furnished with concentric wicks which was first used in the lighthouse of Cordouan (1823).

Ampère, whose mind was of a far-reaching, philosophical grasp, conceived the idea of a general classification of the sciences, an immense chart of human knowledge drawn up so logically that each science should be placed closest to that other with which it had the most analogy. In this way families, branches, and reigns were defined in a manner similar to that employed by Jussieu for plants and Cuvier for animals. But this enormous effort of thought was surpassed by Ampère's labours in the field of electro-magnetism. In 1820 he discovered the fundamental truth that electric currents mutually attract and repulse one another. The fact thus established has had far-reaching results on the discovery and application of mechanics. Ampère solved at once all electro-dynamic problems by reducing them to questions of calculation (*vide* mechanicism of currents). He invented the galvanometer, and with Arago undertook experiments on the magnetisation of soft iron, which gave rise to a number of machines, among others the telegraph-printer, electro-magnetic motors, interruptors, and electric clocks. His theory of electric magnets destroyed the old hypothesis of two fluids, and proved the electrical nature of magnetism. A final discovery, completed in 1832 by Faraday, resulted in the production by magnets, of the dazzling electric light.

Arago, whose share in the labours of Fresnel and

Ampère has already been mentioned, was the author of the theory of undulations, by which the analogy between waves of light and sound was made evident. He also explained the scintillation of stars, and made some important researches into the maximum tension of vapour of water at an elevated temperature, besides inventing the photometer.

Balard, by his discovery of bromine (1826) associated with chlorine and iodine, started that idea of "families of simple bodies" which was epoch-making in the history of chemistry.

Before Balard, said J. B. Dumas, "elements were considered independent of one another, but since the discovery of bromine it is clear that they form natural families, and that when any member of the family is still unknown one may yet predict that it will eventu-

NATURAL SCIENCES

The great naturalists of the preceding period still occupy the scene. Lacépède published in 1827 his "Natural History of Man," and in 1830 his "Ages of Nature."

Cuvier in 1816 published his "Animal Kingdom"—a summary of his views on the distribution of the animal kingdom as founded on organisation—a work which formed the starting-point of a multitude of later researches. He terminated his magnificent career by publishing the "Natural History of Fishes" (1828), and the "History of Natural Sciences" (1830–33).

Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire published the "Philosophy of Anatomy" in 1818–22.

The great event of the period was the debate in 1830, between Cuvier and Saint-Hilaire, on the unity of organic composition in all animals.

The scientific world of Europe followed the various phases of the discussion with rapt attention. Saint-Hilaire maintained that the unity existed and was of the greatest philosophical importance; while Cuvier replied that reasoning in Natural History is productive only of sterile hypotheses.

Saint-Hilaire argued that germs are not pre-existent, but form and develop themselves, and that the animals alive to-day have descended through an uninterrupted series of generations from the lost animals of the antediluvian world. Cuvier retorted that if species have changed by degrees some trace should be found of these gradual modifications. He admitted that there

might be some very small number of structural plans in the infinite variety of anatomical forms, but he absolutely rejected the idea of unity. In a word, the discussion was yet another form of the eternal battle between analysis and synthesis.

Élie de Beaumont was the inventor of Stratigraphy. Together with Brochant de Villiers and Dufrénoy he drew up, between 1826 and 1844, the magnificent "Geological Chart of France."

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

The period is not distinguished by any great anatomical discoveries. Comparative anatomy progressed, and still more did histiology, to which a great impulse was given by the microscope constructed in

his originality and his display, as for his professional capability and his profound knowledge; and Velpeau, who was the first author in France of a "Manual of Anatomical Surgery" (1825–26); while celebrated in the region of medical jurisprudence was Orfila, who wrote a "Treatise on Poisons," published in 1815, and a work on "Legal Medicine" in 1821–23.

Seeking now to generalise our conclusions and define the dominating character of the fertile, complex and busy period we have been studying, we see that the revolt of Romanticism against the philosophical spirit of the eighteenth century produced a religious revival which, up to 1848, inspired poetry and fiction, parliamentary debates, pamphleteering, sociological Utopias, and philosophical dissertations.

But when religion is made the subject of free discussion, its essence, which is faith, vanishes. And in point of fact all this great tide of religion, which did not spring from the soul, but was of merely literary origin, disappeared abruptly in the Socialist explosion of 1848, like a river which is suddenly engulfed.

On the other hand, however, the triumph of Romanticism in the domain of ideas completed the revolution which, in 1789, had been accomplished on the social side.

The overthrow of Classicism was the end of a secular tradition. History arose and taught the world that political forms are not immutable, but may be attacked in the very elements which have contributed to their creation, and that the only direction which they take is determined by the hazard of brute force —the brute force of united material interests. Here

we have a sufficient explanation of the violent excesses which marked the struggle between Romanticists and Classicists.

The contending parties instinctively felt that the consequences of victory would reach farther than the triumph of such or such a formula of art. A mass of contradictory, and therefore subversive, ideas cannot be hurled with impunity into the minds of the multitude. These ideas were destined to germinate, and after destroying Absolute Monarchy (which is Political Classicism), they uprooted Constitutional Monarchy, and finally led to the triumph of Cæsarism, which is the political incarnation of Romanticism.

"It is not liberty which is new in France," said Madame de Staël, "but tyranny."

XI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

(*February* 24, 1848—*December* 1, 1851.)

AFTER the Revolution of 1789 no event has been so far-reaching, or so fraught with political and social consequences to France, as the Revolution of 1848. All Europe was affected by the nationalist and democratic spirit which now awoke after the long repression dating from 1815.

The period, then, is one which deserves that we should briefly describe the state of French society on the 24th of February, 1848, and the principal characters of a movement which, without being accompanied by any wars comparable to those of the first Revolution and the Empire, yet extended beyond the frontiers of France, roused first Italy and then Germany, and is largely responsible for the political institutions of both countries.

The French nobility no longer existed, for the old families had not recovered from the blows inflicted in 1789, and the new creations made by Napoleon not only had failed to take root in the nation, but had also been unable to preserve their newly acquired

wealth from the havoc worked by the laws of succession. The majority of titled persons had rallied round Louis-Philippe as they would have done round any other government, for the reason that they were eager for posts and salaries. A minority only, faithful to legitimacy, had entrenched themselves in a dignified, if sulky, opposition to the younger royal branch. Neither on one side nor on the other was there any appreciable social influence on which any government could place reliance.

The clergy were not more influential than the nobility, for their attitude and their claims during the reign of Charles X. had caused them to be mistrusted by all true Liberals. They had begun now to detach themselves from the monarchical party, partly because

of their power, than they unanimously deserted the Liberal camp and returned at once to the cause of authority. The middle classes were no longer what they had been in 1830. The *bourgeoisie*, qualified electors and National Guards alike, after three fruitless experiments, had at last awakened to the fact that they were rather simple and even rather vain in imagining that they could install a Representative Monarchy in Revolutionary France. Liberals had failed to find, under the monarchy of July, the progressive satisfaction of their desires which they had expected, since the normal course of development of the principles of 1830 had been abruptly cut short in the middle of the reign. Other classes, and especially the electors, whose great preoccupation was to have material security, or, in other words, whose chief characteristic was an unyielding egotism, had lived too long in the midst of riots and alarms, and in the fear of unknown dangers, to feel any great attachment for the Orleans dynasty.

Consequently the revolution of the 23rd of February excited some sympathy for the cause of electoral reform, but was met on the other hand by a total indifference to the form of government.

As to the proletariate, the peasantry were sceptical on the subject of pure politics, but their temperament and the revolutionary origin of their property inclined them to theories of equality; while the artisan, who alone perhaps still nourished a living political faith in the midst of general lassitude, was growing each day in importance with the progress of industrial enterprises, and, finding the economical vicissitudes

of his existence already hard to bear, aspired to the rights of citizenship so that he might defend his own interests and thus undertake a task which, as he conceived, everybody else had neglected. The *bourgeoisie* or middle classes then accepted the Republic in this sense, that they desired no longer to waste their time or their strength in supporting ephemeral privileges behind which to shelter themselves; the peasantry accepted it because, while satisfying their preference for equality, it allowed them to sell their wheat and their cattle in peace; and the artisan not only accepted, but ardently desired it, because he thought it promised the dawn of social regeneration.

Consequently it was with the general, not to say unanimous, consent of all classes that on the 26th of

twenty-one and could prove six months' residence in a commune should be entitled to vote.

This was universal suffrage, unadulterated and direct, carrying with it the obligation for each elector to choose, not one deputy, but the whole list for his department, and conferring upon him at the same time the power to select these representatives wherever he liked, among the poor or the rich—since deputies were henceforward to be paid twenty-five francs *per diem*, and consequently no longer needed a property qualification. An improvised measure of such proportions was alarming. Real Republicans like Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and others, knowing the ignorance of the country, felt uneasy. Later some consolation was derived from a witticism. "To punish M. Guizot for having refused the assistance of men of ability, the assistance of all men of inability has been decreed at a stroke," said some one.

Meanwhile joyful preparations were being made everywhere for the elections, which had been fixed for the month of April, a date necessitated by the time required to register the names of all the new electors. The Republicans marched boldly to battle, resolute to do what in them lay to make up for the ignorance of the mass. Catholics and Legitimists awaited the result of the elections with confidence being convinced, although wrongly, that the country was with them; and the Bonapartists were also in good spirits, feeling sure, and not without grounds, that, in certain country districts, the Napoleonic legend was still sufficiently vigorous to

afford them some advantage. The Orleanists alone were depressed, but that was not surprising in a party so recently defeated.

The elections passed off amid almost religious calm and general enthusiasm. Out of 900 members to the National Assembly 100 proved to be Legitimists, and the remaining 800 were either Republicans or so-called Republicans, of whom the majority, however, were incontestably moderate.

But by the 4th of May, when the first meeting took place, the situation was already radically changed. Nothing could have testified better to the generosity, one might almost say the candid simplicity, of the Provisional Government than the series of decrees issued between the 24th of February

so as to admit all Frenchmen between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five years, at the risk, naturally, of arming all the worst members of the population.

Yet another example of the same sort was the celebrated manifesto to the Powers of Europe (4th of March) wherein Lamartine announced that the International Treaties of 1815 had ceased to exist legally for the French Republic, but that "the prudence of the Republic was for Europe a better and more honourable guarantee than the letter of treaties which had been so often violated or modified." And when, some days later, there was urgent need of money, both to supply the deficit of the Treasury for the payment of bonds and to reimburse the depositors in the savings bank who had been seized with panic, and the Government ordered that imposts should be paid in advance, that direct taxation should be increased by one half, and an additional sum raised by taxing mortgages, the honest but ingenuous authors of these plans were absolutely stupefied at the unfavourable reception which they met with from the public.

Other difficulties awaited them, more serious even than financial ones. Under cover of the new laws on the Press, a number of journals had been founded, some of which were very violent and espoused socialistic or, even, communist opinions. Moreover, the clubs which had existed during the first Revolution had been revived, and among their members were not only dreamers, but also the most renowned conspirators of the July Monarchy, who were engaged in perfecting their organisation by instituting, under the name of Club of the Clubs, a

central authority intended to control all the political associations of the capital. Thus the machinery for popular manifestations and even risings was ready, while military support could be obtained from the National Guard. As a point of fact, various street tumults took place. One, on the 16th of March, was caused by discontent at the dissolution of the *compagnies d'élite*, or picked troops of the National Guard. On the 17th another was got up to demand the adjournment of the election to the Assembly, which, it was feared, might be reactionary; and this was followed, on the 16th of April, by a further rising which had for object to signify that if a majority of Monarchists were returned, recourse would be had to arms. And as the Provisional Government, by

also dominated by Socialist ideas, but still more impelled by the circumstances of the moment, had taken two very grave resolutions. On the 27th of February it instituted national workshops, wherein for a small but fixed wage the numerous artisans whom the economical crisis had thrown out of work were formed into gangs and employed in earthworks; and on the 28th it opened in the Luxembourg Palace, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, a kind of working man's parliament, composed of two hundred delegates from the different trades who were to prepare a project for the organisation of labour to be presented to the Constituent Assembly.

The conferences held at the Luxembourg Palace resulted in some practical suggestions of reform, but, above all, in a vast exposition of theoretical views. Among the first class may be mentioned the foundation of several co-operative associations for production, and the decree of the 2nd of March, which set a limit to the hours of daily labour in factories, and made the hiring of workmen by middlemen for profit illegal.[1] It was found, however, impossible to apply this decree.

As to the theoretical views, they assigned to the future the task of attacking financial feudalism and bridling competition, suggesting, as means to these ends, associations of workmen and the disinterested intervention of the State. The State, for instance, was to buy up mines, railways, and canals, and to carry on agricultural enterprises, with the double

[1] Middlemen hired workmen for masters in return for a fixed sum to be paid by the workmen out of their wages.

object of occupying the unemployed and diminishing the profits of landlords and shareholders. Banks and assurance companies were also to be nationalised; the State was to institute a system of commercial and territorial credit, exchange was to be regulated by marts where no middlemen should intervene, sale prices were to be fixed, and ruinous competition in this way averted.

Of all these ideas not one received a practical application, but they constituted a programme which, in its essence, is still that of the present-day Socialists. And although Louis Blanc and his friends carefully repudiated recourse to violence, the richer classes began to feel alarmed.

As to the national workshops, the suggestion was

lived at the expense of the State, and, becoming accustomed to this comparatively easy life, naturally inclined to resort to revolutionary methods the day on which the harassed Government was driven by want of money to cease from its costly experiment.

In spite of these various measures, which were preparing trouble for the future, but of which the ill effects were not immediately visible, the National Assembly was justified in declaring solemnly on the 8th of May that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the country. It had, in fact, succeeded in preserving order without bloodshed at a moment when all the public departments were disorganised. Unfortunately this peaceful state of affairs was not destined to continue.

While awaiting the vote on the future constitution, the Assembly assigned executive functions to a Committee of Five (May 10), namely Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin, none of whom were Socialists. The resolute exclusion of this party from power irritated a considerable portion of the Parisians, and caused the Assembly to be suspected of reactionary tendencies. On the 15th of the same month, on pretence of demanding that the Government should encourage the Polish insurrection, a procession invaded the Legislative Chamber, and had to be dispersed by the National Guard. This incident had a disturbing effect on everybody. The Assembly was alarmed at being at the mercy of the mob. It suspected the Executive of weakness, perhaps of complicity. At the same time it caused uneasiness to foreign powers by expressing (May

24) the wish that Germany might be united, Poland and Italy freed, and simultaneously roused apprehensions in the more advanced sections of the Parisians by demanding that measures should be taken against the leaders of the recent demonstration.

A grave mistake of the Assembly and a serious error of judgment on the part of the Executive, combined to precipitate events. The Assembly was anxious to close the national workshops, which it regarded as costly and dangerous, and while always protesting that the operation should be carried through by degrees, it lost no opportunity of attacking the Government on the subject. The Executive first hesitated, then wildly decided all at once, on the 21st of June, that all workmen between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five should be peremptorily

triumph left an inexorable resentment in the hearts of the people, and the Assembly inflicted a death-blow upon its own popularity by decreeing the exile of several thousand insurgents (June 27).

Cavaignac had long been well known for his Republican opinions, consequently the events of the month of June, although rendering him victorious over revolutionary socialism, failed to ensure for him the support of the middle class and provincial populations, who, terrified, were determined to find a saviour of some sort.

Cavaignac did all that was in his power to re-establish public order, and to maintain, it with the help of a moderate Ministry formed from members of the Left. At his suggestion the guarantee was once more exacted from all newspapers, clubs and meetings were only licensed when their organisers had made satisfactory declarations to Government, and members of the Assembly who appeared to have encouraged the recent risings were put upon their trial.

But Cavaignac was as firm in repressing the propaganda of Royalists and Bonapartists as of Revolutionists. Consequently when the Bonapartists, feeling the approaching reaction, began to recover confidence, and when Prince Louis-Napoleon succeeded in getting himself returned at a bye-election, the Assembly, which had at first supported Cavaignac and his policy, commenced to find fault with him and to lower him in public estimation.

Such was the situation when the Constitution of the 4th of November, 1848, was promulgated. This

Constitution, born in the midst of storms, showed on the part of its originators extraordinary ignorance of the essential conditions of public life. The preamble recited the rights and duties of the citizen, and if the Assembly had not yet the courage to proclaim every man's right to work, it affirmed at least his right to assistance. The Constitution provided a Council of State, for the elaboration of projects of law, which the Legislative Chamber was to elect for six years. The Chamber itself was composed of 750 members, elected for three years by universal, direct suffrage, the voting to be by departmental ballot. The Assembly fixed the date and duration of its own sessions, and could not be dissolved before the expiration of the specified time.

by decreeing that motions for revision should be voted three times with an interval of a month between each vote, by a majority of three-fourths of the Chamber, and that even then the revision should be made by a specially constituted body.

Such measures appeared lightheartedly designed for breeding unappeasable dissensions, and among them all none was more fraught with danger than the method appointed for electing the President. He was to be chosen by an enormous popular vote, and in a country like France, with a highly centralised Government and an electorate but little accustomed to the exercise of its political rights, he could not fail to think himself superior to an Assembly which offered no real counterpoise to his authority.

But no argument availed to convince the Assembly of the danger it was incurring. "We must trust to Providence," cried Lamartine, in a fine oratorical outburst; and not even the simple precaution was taken of declaring ineligible to the Presidency any member of the families which had reigned over France.

And there was one Prince whose ancestors had ceased to reign long enough for their virtues alone to be remembered, whose name recalled both a period of military glory and a period of revolution, while seeming at the same time to combine the traditions of equality so dear to all Frenchmen, and the autocracy which is welcome at moments of social trouble and political indecision. This Prince Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Louis one time King of Holland, and nephew of the Great Napoleon—was

only known personally by his foolish adventures at Strasburg and Boulogne, and by certain works stamped with a kind of mystic socialism which he had written during his captivity in the fortress of Ham. On being elected to the Chamber he had declared himself a Republican, while maintaining an attitude of prudent reserve which disarmed hatred and allayed suspicion or fear. On the 10th of December, 1848, he was chosen President of the Republic by the enormous majority of five millions and a half against one million and a half of votes cast for Cavaignac.

Napoleon I. had been proclaimed Emperor by the nation, because he appeared the supreme personification of that civil equality which the forces of reaction were endangering; and similarly Louis-

The Constituent Assembly survived the election of the 10th of December a few months, and passed various laws on the Council of State, the mode of proceeding to elections, and other things necessary to the machinery of government. Louis-Napoleon was installed as President, and chose for his first Cabinet, on the 30th of December, men who were members of the old dynastic Left during the reign of Louis-Philippe. The Premier was Odilon Barrot, whom the last king had called upon to save the crown when it was already too late. But the dynastic Left had changed in the twelvemonth since 1847, and when the Cabinet instituted new proceedings against secret societies, and introduced a law prohibiting clubs, it found itself on several occasions in a minority. So far from resigning, however, it presided at the general election on the 13th of May, 1849. These elections, which differed widely from those of the preceding year, returned a Legislative Assembly of singularly mixed element. Moderate Republicans were reduced to about eighty members, while the advanced section obtained 180 seats. Paris, Lyons, the greater number of the large towns, and even the army, on which votes had been conferred by the new electoral law, returned Extreme Radicals. There were 450 Monarchists elected, but they represented all shades of opinion as to what particular monarch they would prefer to see on the throne of France, being some of them Bonapartists, others Legitimists (more numerous than formerly), and the greater number Orleanists, although among these again there were not sufficient to form a majority in Parliament.

Louis-Napoleon took little pains to apply parliamentary rules as to choosing ministers whose views were in accord with those of the nation's representatives. Just as he had formed his Cabinet of the 30th of December of members of the minority then existent, so now (June 2, 1849) he manœuvred in a way to ensure the admission into this same Cabinet of some of those Moderate Republicans who were so sparsely represented in Parliament, but whom he desired to reassure as to his intentions. He was soon to unmask himself entirely in a matter which, although it concerned foreign relations chiefly, was yet of a nature to cause intense excitement at home.

In 1848, Pope Pius IX., whose Prime Minister was Rossi, a former Liberal peer of Louis-Philippe's, be-

into the background while urging on Piedmont to assist the Holy See. But Piedmont had inopportunely undertaken a war against Austria, and after being beaten at Custozza (July 25, 1848), and again at Novara (March 23, 1849), the King, Charles Albert, had hastened to abdicate.

France was now forced to take up a decisive attitude. The clearly expressed desire of the Assembly, which had not yet separated, was that the Romans might be left to manage their own affairs, but that the French Government should intervene to preserve intact the territory of Piedmont.

The Government obtained supplies without exactly stating what was to be done with them. Then disregarding the opinion of the Chamber, it despatched an expeditionary corps to Civita Vecchia (April 25). Driven back once from Rome by Mazzini and Garibaldi (April 30), the French commander, General Oudinot, besieged the town and marched in at the end of twenty days' fighting (July 2).

By this time the Legislative Assembly had entered upon its functions, and its views were not the same as those of the Constituent Assembly; while, on the other hand, the state of the public mind in Paris was utterly averse to any attempt on the part of a French force to assist the cause of Papacy and absolute rule.

The Cabinet having obtained a vote of confidence from the Assembly (June 11) there was a partial rising in the streets of Paris, which received the support of some Radical deputies, among others Ledru-Rollin. The movement was promptly repressed, but the Government purposely exaggerated its importance

The alliance between the Presiden
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to endure. Louis-Napoleon was will
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He exacted from Pius IX. the promi
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offices and a *consulta* created for the vo

This *motu proprio* did not satisfy the
their recent taste of the sweets of politi
In Paris, while applauded by some Re

ments, and he anticipated the outbreak of the inevitable conflict. In his message of the 31st of October, he solemnly affirmed that he shared to the full the responsibility of his ministers, and that he desired a firm and united policy. "The name of Napoleon," he boldly continued, "is of itself a programme signifying order, authority, religion, and the prosperity of the people at home, with national dignity abroad. This is the policy—inaugurated by my election—which I wish to see triumph."

And as if further to manifest his will, he named, without the sign-manual of his ministers, a new Cabinet, which responded to no Parliamentary necessity, but contained, with General d'Hautpoul, the principal men who continued to serve Louis Napoleon after he became Emperor. These men were Fould, Bineau, Rouher, De Parieu, &c. (November 1, 1849).

This step portended imminent war between the President and the Assembly. But Louis-Napoleon was not the man to proceed at once to extremities. He had hardly pronounced his daring message of the 31st of October to the Assembly before he proceeded to restore the reins to the Parliamentary majority.

The Constitution of 1848, like the Charter of 1830, had promised a law on Liberty of Instruction. The Constituent Assembly had intended to make this law very favourable to State inspection of private schools. The Legislative Assembly, on the contrary, made it very favourable to the Catholic Church, to which it even granted an important measure of control over the University. This was the law of the 15th of

debarred from imparting secondary ir
cept on the ground of scandal; but tl
the primary schools had to be provided v
of capacity, except when, as in the c
hoods, they obtained from their bish
certificate, known as a "letter of obe
University was left in possession of all i
instruction: only, instead of enjoying a
formerly, it had now to encounter a ver
petition[1]; and, while keeping the ri
degrees, it was forced to admit a gre
priests to its administrative departmen
of discipline, besides including religious
programme.

The University was not, indeed, offi
of the direction of primary public ir
thanks to the letter of obedience, it l
impossible to obtain lay female teache
cation of girls fell more and more int
religious. The country, consequentl
very dear the most precious of all lit

The Parliamentary majority had barely obtained this victory before it began to turn its attention elsewhere.

Some supplementary elections took place in March and April, 1850, in order to fill the vacancies left by deputies who had been condemned for their share in the events of the 13th of June, 1849. Out of thirty-seven seats to be reoccupied, twenty-seven were retained by Republicans and ten fell to Monarchists. Although these ten constituted a net gain for the friends of the majority, much was made in Government and Parliamentary circles of the pretended revival of revolutionary tendencies. Universal suffrage had never been in favour with Monarchists, and while not daring to suppress it, they were determined at any rate indirectly to reduce the number of electors.

By a law passed on the 31st of May, 1850, the period of residence in a commune necessary for a voter was prolonged from six months to three years from the date of his first payment of direct taxes, and this change had the effect of excluding from the franchise almost the whole of the working population, who were, of necessity, nomad. By a stroke of the pen, in short, three millions were disfranchised —that is, 64 per cent. of the electorate of Paris and 29 per cent. of the electorate of the departments.

By this measure, more clearly even than by a new law against the liberty of the Press (July 16, 1850), it was borne in upon the masses, whose aspirations towards equality were rudely wounded, that the Legislative Assembly was dominated by the party of

reaction,[1] which needed to make but a few more blunders to complete its loss of popularity and render the Prince-President arbiter of the situation.

These blunders the Assembly did not fail to commit. On separating for the recess it appointed a so-called Permanent Commission empowered to watch the Executive, and as the members nominated to this Commission were all well-known Monarchists, the partisans of Louis-Napoleon adroitly used the circumstance to raise apprehensions in the public mind of a contemplated restoration of the old dynasty, now universally detested.

These apprehensions presently gathered weight from negotiations for a fusion between Orleanists and Legitimists. The Monarchists felt their divisions to

—grandson of Charles X.—opposed an invincible refusal to the guarantees demanded of him. He wished to reign in virtue of his hereditary rights, but he declined to state what the nature of his government would be.

The attempted fusion was a failure, but the noise it made caused uneasiness in the country, and facilitated the plans of Louis-Napoleon. These plans consisted in taking up the attitude of a representative of the new ideas as opposed to the agents of the Monarchists, or in appearing as chosen by the popular voice in contradistinction to the elect by Right Divine.

Louis-Napoleon had not yet determined upon the *coup d'état:* he would probably have been content, at any rate for the moment, with the suppression from the Constitution of the clause which forbade his re-election as President on the expiration of his term of office. The rest, that is to say a greater independence with respect to the Assembly, would have come later. In August, 1850, the Prefects, although the subject lay quite outside their competence, were ordered to ask all the Councils-General of the Departments whether the Constitution might not admit of revision. The Councils, although forbidden by the law to engage in political discussions, took the matter into consideration, and fifty-two out of their number declared themselves wholly or in part favourable to the revision, while twelve were against it, and twenty-one abstained from giving an opinion.

At the same time Louis-Napoleon increased his popularity by a series of tours in the provinces, which afforded him the opportunity of making some ex-

Army of Paris at Satory, near Ver
emitted by some regiments, was at
by General Changarnier, the Comm
In consequence there was some
moving Changarnier, who was a M
whose presence at the head of the
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significant, and the alternative adopt
snare for the general. In the Presi
on the re-opening of Parliament
November, Louis-Napoleon declared
respect for the Constitution; but at
report was cleverly spread that Cha
to deny to the Assembly its perfect
right of demanding troops for its
There was no foundation for such
Changarnier, who was a deputy as w
on being questioned in the Chamber,
the report, but plainly said that t
making the request mentioned woul

A discussion, which lasted from the 15th to the 17th of January, caused the resignation of the Cabinet formed on the 10th, but the Prince-President was none the less freed from the incumbrance of Changarnier's presence. He took care not to select his new Ministry among the majority. The Cabinet which met on the 24th was composed of colourless political personages like Schneider, Brenier, Giraud, &c., who were not likely to interfere with him in the pursuit of his personal aims. He spread the rumour, eagerly credited by Republicans, that if the Assembly had shown itself so favourable to General Changarnier, that could only be because it had counted on him for a monarchical *coup d'état* as soon as the right moment came. The President's followers also gave the same colouring to a proposal in the Assembly—which was, however, rejected on the 1st of March—that the decree of exile against the Orleans and Bourbon princes[1] should be rescinded, and the refusal of a request made by the President for a supplementary grant, for expenses incurred in representing the nation, was described as an act of unworthy jealousy.

Louis-Napoleon was, however, not yet prepared to cross the Rubicon. Not knowing how a violation of the Constitution might be received by the country, he wished, very sincerely no doubt, to revise the offensive clause by legal methods. But the Ministers appointed

[1] The debate on this proposal gave rise to the final division between the Legitimists and the Orleanists. The latter warmly favoured the abrogation of the law of exile, but the former maintained that a Bourbon could not live in France as a simple citizen, and that failing a throne he should accept exile. The Legitimists consequently voted against the Bill with the Republicans.

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franchised, remained in force.

On the 19th of July the revisio
majority which yet fell short by on
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Prince-President and the Assembl
newspapers favourable to Louis-Na
the animosity of the electorate again
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the Prince in his speeches compla
ment always supported him when

was succeeded on the 27th by a Ministry composed of very insignificant persons for the most part, but into which Louis-Napoleon had introduced a man of whom he was absolutely sure, General St. Arnaud, the new Minister of War. All he needed now was to find a specious ground of quarrel with the Assembly, and his message of the 4th of November was expressly designed for this purpose. He announced to the Chamber an immense demagogic plot which was to disturb the elections and the ballot for the President in 1852, and he urged the instant abrogation of the law of the 31st of May. There was an evident contradiction between the two parts of this message, but the first portion was intended to alarm the *bourgeoisie* and the second was a bid for the favour of the masses. In the double character of a representative of public order and a defender of universal suffrage, the Prince-President could henceforth confront the situation without danger to himself.

The proposal to rescind the law of the 31st of May was rejected by the Assembly. Similar treatment was dealt out to the demand of the Quæstors,[1] who, beginning to fear a *coup d'état*, had asked that copies of the decree of the 6th of May, 1848, which empowered the President of the Assembly to make requisition of troops, should be posted up in all barracks (November 14 and 17). There was, in fact, no longer a majority of any kind. Sometimes the Monarchists prevailed, and gave a free rein to

[1] Quæstors are members of the Chamber elected by their colleagues to superintend the administration and guard the security of Parliament.

paralysed the Assembly, which w
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During the night of the 1st–2i
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the Interior. On the morning o
most prominent deputies had be
clamation posted on the walls of P
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law of the 31st of May, 1850, a
people to ratify by their votes the
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on that of the Year VIII. which he
upon France.

XII.

SECOND EMPIRE, 1851–1860.

First Period: December 2, 1851—*November* 23, 1860.

ON the 20th of December, 1851—when the law of the 31st of May had been rescinded, and the electorate restored to its former condition of universal suffrage—the following form of plebiscite was voted by 7,440,000 votes against 641,000: "The French nation desires the maintenance of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's authority, and delegates to him the necessary powers for establishing a Constitution on the basis proposed in his proclamation of the 2nd of December, 1851."

Thus was the *coup d'état* ratified if not legalised. Louis-Napoleon seized the opportunity to bestow upon France a Constitution which guaranteed his own authority against all effective interference. This Constitution, promulgated on the 14th of January, 1852, aped the features of that of the Year VIII. Its preamble stated that it was necessary to revert to the political institutions of the Empire of which the administrative institutions were still in vigour. The parliamentary system was to be suppressed, and its place filled by a Consultative Assembly barely if at all representative.

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might modify it in detail if not in

A Council of State, whose comp
were also chosen by the President, wa
prepare projects of law and to underta
before the Legislative Body. The la
universal suffrage and uninominal bal
of the right either of questioning mini
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to the bills presented by the Council
with the permission of this body.

Such a machinery of governm
intended to serve the personal poli
President alone. His responsibility
purely nominal, since he alone had
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appeal against him. His minist
mere tools of his will. They he
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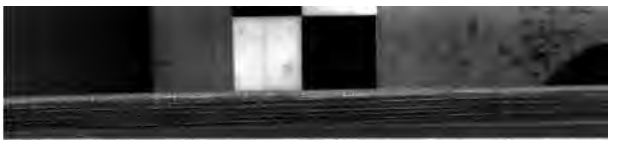
when the Government wished to
acts, it was reduced to the devic



sway them, reserved to himself the right of fixing their salaries at variable amounts.

The Legislative Body, without any real power of control or adequate legislative functions, was even debarred from expressing an opinion, and the only form in which its work could be communicated to the Assembly was a succinct and colourless minute, the very terms of which had been dictated by the President of the Chamber—himself a nominee of the Head of the Republic.

There remained the Council of State, which, strong in composition and functions, was an admirable administrative machine, but in no sense an organ of national life, and it naturally formed no counterpoise to the power of the President. A decree of the 17th of January, 1852, had gagged the press by subjecting it, according to circumstances, to securities, preliminary authorisations, warnings, suspensions, and administrative or judicial suppressions, as well as by denying it the privilege of trial by jury. Two other decrees, of the 10th of January and 2nd of April respectively, forbade *cafés* and wineshops to remain open or the smallest public gathering to be held without a permit from Government, which could be revoked at a moment's notice. Universal silence, in short, was the order of the day—succeeding to a system of free discussion.

All these measures had been taken with the one object of re-establishing the Empire, and although the principle of hereditary monarch is radically opposed to that of responsibility of the Head of the State, this was a small matter when the responsibility

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by name, was found to declare th
would be nothing else but a "crowne
and on the 21st of the same mo
people, by a somewhat larger major
20th of December previously, affirme
see the Empire "re-established in the
Napoleon and his descendants." Th
dent immediately assumed the title of
although Napoleon II.—King of Rom
great Emperor—had never reigned,
upon himself, together with an am
various rights which the Constitution
to bestow upon him. Among these
25th of December) was the power to cc
of commerce, and also to dispose freely
which the Legislature was to vote annu
each ministerial department.

The docile senators received a unifo
sums were assigned to all the deputies. T
completed, the Empire became an acco
The conditions of its ...

strator, and a man of mystical, dreamy temperament, tortuous, elusive character, mediocre courage, and undefined intelligence.

Between the institutions of the two periods, again, the opposition was fundamental. Napoleon I., pushing the logic of his system to extremes, had so clearly grasped the functions of an executive as to confide to it the task of forming the Assemblies which, in the capital, in the departments, and in the communes, were to second governmental measures.

Napoleon III., while aspiring to equal power, allowed these Assemblies to be elected by the popular vote, a blunder which very promptly resulted in contradictions and conflicts.

Napoleon I. had been able to make *tabula rasa* of all the political past of the country, since neither under the ancient *régime* nor under the Republic had France enjoyed any real public liberty, but in 1851 the nation had learnt, by thirty-five years of passionate struggle, to take a more active share than formerly in the management of its own affairs, and Napoleon III., in the absence of the military glory wherewith his uncle had dazzled the multitude, was forced, at every crisis, to seek in internal readjustment for the means of repairing injury to vested interests and appeasing the impatient demands of the masses. And these crises were for ever recurring. Besides the ordinary difficulties of every government, difficulties of finance, international relations, and so on, the Empire born of the events of the 2nd of December had embarrassments of its own which were due chiefly to its origin, and to the mutually destructive principles which it

and an adversary of demagogues.
these characters he was bound to just
by economic and social reforms, and
ing to the democratic jingoism which
that succeeded to Napoleon the Grea
repressed. In his second character h
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uncontrolled arbiter of the nation's
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concessions or the hopes which he h
and as long as the middle classes we
terrors which they had conceived in 1
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but the day that the masses found then
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their interests were betrayed or their
regarded, a reaction became inevi
Imperial system was forced by th

In the beginning, Napoleon III.—Napoleon the Little as he was nicknamed by Victor Hugo in a celebrated pamphlet—met with an almost unanimous acceptance. If some foreign powers, such as Russia and Great Britain, were inclined at first to fear that France might return to the wars and conquering expeditions of the First Empire, such doubts soon gave way to satisfaction at the thought that the spectre of democracy evoked throughout Europe by the events of 1848 was laid at last; and these congratulations were echoed by Germany and Austria.

In France itself no class desired, and no political party was able, to attack the new Government. The clergy, who had obtained from liberty only a very small part of all they aspired to, hastened to acclaim and obey the Emperor, and even such pretended Liberal Catholics as Montalembert loudly expressed the hope that he would govern to the honour and glory of the Church. And Napoleon's first acts seemed to justify these expectations. He rescinded various decrees of the Monarchy of July, restored the Pantheon to the Church, reappointed chaplains to the army, admitted cardinals to the Senate, ordered that Sunday should be a day of rest in Government dockyards, suppressed the teaching of philosophy in the Lycées (December, 1851—April, 1852), and increased the authority of the administration over professors of all orders. Such measures were naturally welcomed by ecclesiastics, who, like everybody else, were far from foreseeing the serious dissensions which the Italian war was destined to sow between the Empire and the Church. The belief spread that

Napoleon III. was to resemble Charles X. in favouring the "party of the priests."

Simultaneously among the middle classes the greater number felt confidence in a Government strong enough to cope with all elements disturbing to the public peace, and were further reassured by the marvellous expansion of industry and commerce which resulted partly from the general tranquillity, and partly from the introduction of railways, cheques, new systems of registering commercial societies, and the abolition of arrest for debt. By these means the middle classes were kept actively employed, even while losing the habit of self-government; by degrees they began again to assimilate the religious ideas which had formerly been distasteful to them, and

versal suffrage against the intrigues of Monarchists, and elected by the people as a defence against the perils of reaction.

The population of Paris had not made one serious effort to resist the *coup d'état* on the 2nd of December; their deputies were quite discredited in their eyes, and Louis-Napoleon appeared as the faithful servant of Democracy, the restored right of universal suffrage being here again potent to persuade. Moreover, the writings of the Prince were full of a mystical socialism which bred many illusions. A current remark of the time was: "Barbés *asked* a milliard from the rich for us: Bonaparte will *give* it to us."

The name of Bonaparte was also synonymous with hatred of those Treaties of 1815 which still rankled in the heart of many a partisan of that principle of nationality which passed for being a legacy of the great Revolution. This thought alone sufficed not only to quiet, but actually to attract the masses. While the banishment of some deputies, and the exile beyond seas of some hundred uncompromising Republicans, prevented all organised resistance in Paris or the provinces,[1] the decree of confiscation pronounced on the 22nd of January, 1851, against the property of the Orleans family, which was bestowed on various military and working-class charities, appealed to the popular hatred of Monarchy and confirmed the prevailing belief in the third Napoleon's humanitarian proclivities.

[1] In the south-west and south-east alone was there any necessity for vigorous repression. And even there it was applied administratively.

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by the measures against the Press and
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The elections to the Legislative
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Nevertheless, three Republicans were
Paris and one in Lyons, but as all th
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Legislative Chamber finally counted bu
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confiscation of the property of the C
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With such a chamber Napoleon had l

During the first years all went w

of mortgages, and in 1856 joint-stock companies (*Sociétés en Commandite*) were objects of reform, and various penal and administrative measures also passed, such as increased severity of punishment for attempts against a reigning house (1853); abolition of civil death; organisation of hard labour; transportation of convicts (1854); and the pensions of civil functionaries (1853).

There remains to be mentioned also the law of the 5th of May, 1855, on the municipalities, which, as might have been expected, gave increased power to the Prefects by enabling them, for instance, to nominate mayors who did not sit on municipal councils, and deprived Paris and Lyons of all local elective representation.

In the direction of social reform, finally, an attempt was made at a system of Old Age Pensions (1853 and 1856), but it was accompanied by a vexatious order to all workmen to furnish themselves with a book in which the dates of their entry into, and departure from, a workshop should be entered (June 22, 1854), thus placing them to all intents and purposes under perpetual observation by the police.

Some incidents, even at this early date, might have suggested to an attentive observer that the political horizon might not always remain serene.

In spite of the small amount of liberty enjoyed by the Legislative Chamber, Montalembert found means on various occasions of warmly attacking the men and the measures of the time. Two notable examples were the speeches he pronounced, one in 1854, after an action had been brought against him

for the publication of a political pamphlet, and the other in 1856, when he drew attention to the abuse of Government interference in the elections.

At other times Commissions of the Assembly complained of being fettered in their action by the Council of State, which would not allow them to introduce any amendments into Acts, or even to reduce the supplies demanded on the presentation of the Budget.

For the time being, however, these incidents might furnish a few days' subject of conversation, but they could not agitate the country as long as foreign affairs were of a nature to distract the public mind.

The Crimean War was in progress, and this undertaking, which had not even been discussed when the

of the Powers, by protecting Turkey against Russia. The war had also the additional advantage of drawing him closer to Great Britain, the only country where the Press was free enough to become, in certain eventualities, inconvenient to the government of Napoleon, by affording encouragement to his victims and opponents.

The Emperor was sure, finally, that in France itself the war would be popular. Turkey was an ancient ally, and while the old parties must be favourable to the preservation of this alliance, the Liberals were pleased at the friendship which would result from it with the Mother of Parliaments; and even the Republicans hailed an attack upon autocratic Russia, and vaguely hoped that from this very conservative enterprise some revolutionary movement would follow in Italy or in Germany. As to the mass of the population, it could not suffer from the war, since as yet there was no universal conscription, and the subsidy was to be obtained not by taxation but by a loan—two circumstances which gave free play to the prevailing curiosity to see whether Napoleon III. was likely to revive the glorious memories of his uncle.

Hostilities began with the victory of the Allied forces at Alma on the 20th of September, 1854; but the chief interest in the war centred in the long and difficult siege of Sebastopol, which only fell on the 8th of September, 1855, and in various demonstrations of French and English ships before Bomarsund, Kinburn, and Petraupolosk.

The Czar Nicholas died before seeing the ruin of

his designs upon the Danubian Provinces and Constantinople. His son Alexander II. hastened to demand peace, which was signed at the Congress of Paris on the 30th of March, 1856. Russia was forbidden to keep a fleet on the Black Sea, liberty of navigation on the Danube was guaranteed, and the commerce of neutrals in time of war assured.

These diplomatic and military triumphs, together with the prevailing intense commercial development, were very favourable to the Emperor, and largely influenced the elections to the Legislative Chamber in 1857. The Imperial Government had so far been spoilt by fortune, and the hour had not yet come for the stricken opposition to rise from the dust.

Nevertheless six candidates hostile to the Empire

wounded one hundred and fifty people, but left Napoleon himself unhurt. Orsini was seized, tried, condemned, and executed; but his attempt revealed two facts, to wit, that he had accomplices outside France, and that the Emperor's death had been resolved upon in order to punish him for having allied himself with Conservative states, and thus been led to neglect the cause of Italian independence.

But Napoleon had not forgotten Italian independence. In his youth he had taken part in many conspiracies in the Peninsula, and when, in mature age and at the height of power, he engaged in the Crimean war, he had done his best to benefit Italy by inducing Piedmont to join in the expedition. No sooner had peace been signed than, taking the neutrality of Austria for his text, he endeavoured diplomatically to stir up various diplomatists against the Court of Vienna; but the pressure of other affairs and the fear that a war with Austria would leave him isolated in Europe and deprive him of the position which the Crimean war had assured to him, combined to prevent his taking instant action. While he hesitated, Orsini threw the bombs, and impressed upon the Emperor the necessity of a decision. But first he profited by the crime to consolidate the system of repression which he had inaugurated in France. In defiance of all truth, he chose to attribute Orsini's attempt to secret societies and republican intrigues, and then proceeded to suppress various journals, to divide France into five great Military Districts, and to make General Espinasse Minister of the Interior (February 7, 1858).

These preparations having caused universal alarm, he next induced the Council of State and the Legislature to pass the terrible law of General Safety (*Sureté Générale*), dated February 27th, which allowed the authorities to imprison anywhere, and even to expel from France and her colonies, any person who had been condemned for political offences since 1848. And to avoid the recurrence of incidents which had affected him disagreeably, he caused the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 17th of February to decree that candidates to the Legislative Chamber should take the oath to observe the Constitution before they could present themselves for election.

The excessive nature of these reprisals injured the Emperor more than they served him. For they were

war had somewhat intoxicated him; he was anxious to recover the ground which he had lost in public opinion, and could see nothing but advantage to himself in a fresh attack upon the Treaties of 1815 which would weaken the house of Austria, still regarded as the hereditary enemy of France, and drive her from Northern Italy, where her presence offended the populations.

The Emperor employed the autumn and winter months in preparing the mind of the public for his undertaking, but the preparation consisted, as was usual with Napoleon III., in giving hints which did not clearly reveal his intention. Sometimes he caused the publication of semi-official articles and "inspired" pamphlets discussing the Italian question, and at other times the newspapers contained paragraphs denouncing remarks which were disquieting to commercial circles and likely to disturb the friendly relations of France with her neighbours.

Several months passed thus in marches and counter-marches, with insinuations thrown out one day and withdrawn the next, when, all at once, on Austria ordering Piedmont to discontinue its military preparations, the Emperor declared war. The Crimean campaign had been, as we have said, very popular in France, but the exact contrary was the case with the war of Italian Independence. Apart from the Republicans, who hailed a policy likely to bring about a return to the old traditions of Freedom and Nationality, nobody was able to perceive the benefit likely to accrue from such an undertaking to France.

In the Legislative Chamber, when permission to

contract a loan was demanded, apprehension was visible even in the ranks of the Imperialist majority, for was it not likely that on the pretext of defending Piedmont from Austrian aggression a blow might be struck at the independence of the Pope? And by an alliance with the revolutionary section in the Peninsula, might not France disquiet, and perhaps disturb, the whole of Europe?

Nevertheless the loan was voted, and Napoleon III. set out upon the war, after issuing a proclamation in which, playing for once into the hands of the Republicans, he expressed the desire to see Italy "free to the shores of the Adriatic" (May 3, 1859).

Two months later, although victorious at Montebello, at Magenta (June 4th), and at Solferino (June

Napoleon III. had hardly set foot in Italy before he became aware of national aspirations in the people which neither he nor anybody would be able to restrain. In other words, he awoke too late to the manifold consequences of his act.

The net result of the Italian expedition was that of all half-completed enterprises, inasmuch as it left everybody discontented. The Italians were frustrated in their hopes of unity and independence; their French supporters shared their disappointment; the enemies of Italian unity saw plainly that a movement had been set on foot which could not be arrested, and Europe fancied that the annexation of Nice and Savoy indicated a revival of the old conquering spirit of France. What was to be expected happened. The people of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena dethroned their rulers, and demanded to be united to Piedmont; the Romagna shook off the Papal yoke, Garibaldi's volunteers took possession of Sicily in May, 1860, and in September of the same year a Piedmontese army entered the Roman Campagna.

Napoleon III., feeling himself really guilty towards the Italians, and sympathising in his heart with their cause, did nothing to arrest the torrent which his own act had set flowing. He even advised Pius IX. to give up the Romagna, and in a speech at Bordeaux in October, 1859, he spoke of ordering the recall of the French garrison which had occupied Rome ever since the events of 1849. This was all that was wanted to show what evil consequences at home were to ensue from a war which had already excited hostility in Europe. The Catholic

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was beginning anew.

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and on the 23rd of January, 1860,

French industry. The Protectionists, above all in the cotton-spinning districts, were enraged by this economic revolution thus imposed upon them without warning by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, unaccompanied by any sign from the body which was supposed to represent the national mind of France. And here again, as in the case of the Catholics, it became evident that men are little disposed to uphold autocracy when it attacks their interests. The Parliamentary session of 1860 brought this fact into relief. The Government was reproached with the hesitation, the tortuousness and the imprudence of its Italian policy, and at the same time complaints were heard from the Protectionists at the abuse of the Imperial prerogative. Napoleon III., under this cross-fire of attack, was not slow to perceive that he had lost touch with public opinion, and that if he continued to impose silence upon the nation he would end by digging an abyss between it and himself. As a result he issued the Decree of the 24th of November, 1860, for which nothing had prepared the public mind, and which was described by a contemporary as being a "*Coup d'état* born of the solitary meditations of the Emperor."

By this decree the Senate and the Chamber acquired the right of discussing and voting each year an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, and the publication *in extenso* of the debates in the Chamber was promised—a promise carried out by the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 2nd of February following. It was also determined to allow ministers without a portfolio to represent the Government

XIII.

SECOND EMPIRE, 1860–1870.

Second Period: November 24, 1860—*September* 4, 1870.

THE decree of the 24th of November, 1860, which was completed by some slight mitigations of the fiscal laws and the repressive regulations imposed upon the Press (Acts of the 2nd of May and 2nd of July, 1861), accorded liberty of speech to the political assemblies once a year, that is to say in the debate on the Address.

Although the first legislative body which benefited by this favour had been elected in 1857, it soon gave the measure of the rate at which the public mind had travelled since the last General Election, and showed the confusion generated in the Government majority itself by the policy lately pursued by the Emperor. Old official candidates, emancipated at last, joined the famous Five in attacking the Government or resisting its measures. In vain the Emperor affirmed through his ministers that henceforward his policy in Italy would be one of non-intervention. While both in the Legislative Chamber and the Senate certain orators were openly attacking the Temporal Power

as dangerous for the spiritual independence of the Pope and contrary to the interests of Italy, it was clear that the Catholics would require from Napoleon III. something else than an attitude of *laisser-faire*. In vain the Government announced an equilibrium in the Budgets; the Emperor's own friends rose to denounce both the abuse of supplementary credits which had introduced deficits in all preceding Budgets and the absurdity of the supplies *en bloc* which the Chamber was expected to vote for each Ministry. On this second point the Emperor afforded satisfaction to public opinion by ordaining that in future no supplementary credit should be granted without the consent of the Minister of Finance, and also that the Budget should be presented and voted upon in

anything else to say than to recommend an attitude of patient expectation.

The uneasiness of Parliament at this ambiguous policy was shared by the country, and the Catholic clergy never ceased agitating in favour of the Holy Father; nor did the Government desist from its reprisals, on one occasion going so far as to dissolve a vast religious association long tolerated in France, which employed itself especially in collecting funds for Peter's Pence.

Moreover, the growing opposition of the Catholic world found an echo in other centres which were strangers to the merely religious question. Commerce and industry, long so flourishing, were much affected by the results in the whole world of business of the War of Secession in the United States. And further uneasiness was generated by the restless humour of Napoleon III., who not only despatched troops to Syria in 1861 to protect the Catholics of Lebanon, and to China in 1860 to open certain ports to European trade, but also engaged in 1862 in the mad enterprise in Mexico, where he hoped to make the Archduke Maximilian of Austria the ruler of a Latin empire—a project which collapsed in bloodshed and ruin after four years of costly struggle.

All these questions and many more were debated with passion by the "Five" in the French Chamber, and discussed more calmly by various members of the majority.

These debates were not immediately productive of reforms, since they could not influence either the hidden will of the sovereign or the composition of

his ministries, but they sufficed to rouse public opinion and to show that the Empire had entered upon troublous times.

And sometimes unexpected results followed. One day the Legislative Chamber was in such an obstinate mood that the Government had to withdraw a proposal to bestow a life pension upon General Cousin de Montauban, Count of Palikao, who had commanded the Expeditionary Corps in China.[1] On another occasion one of the ministers without portfolio, whose duty it was to defend the acts of the Government before the Chamber, considered it incumbent on him to resign because he was in public opposition to the Minister of Finance—an act which revealed the need of a certain ministerial unity. But these small

—in the nation at large as in Government circles, and while the one was a prey to confused aspirations, the other was tossed about by contradictory opinions.

Such was the situation on the 31st of May, 1863, when the General Election took place. The Government resorted on this occasion to the same preliminary machinations as in 1852, and deliberately refused its support to those deputies who, in the outgoing Parliament, had given the smallest sign of independence. But this time the official circulars were as eloquent in praising the recent liberal reforms of the Imperial Government as, eleven years previously, they had proved themselves in boasting of overwhelming authority.

The old Liberal party of opposition had recovered courage, and by alliance with the Church, which could not forgive the Emperor's Italian policy, it embittered the struggle in many constituencies.

The best representative of this fraction of opponents was Thiers, who was standing for Paris, and who was less anxious to change the form of government than to place it on a basis which should ensure its exercise of normal functions.

As to the Republicans, some advocated abstention in order not, as they expressed it, to "legitimise" the Empire by participating in its administration; while others threw themselves into the struggle, and, while recommending a more decidedly revolutionary and nationalist attitude abroad and social reforms at home, they were so shocked at the Imperial abuse of power that in their discussions they frequently forgot the essential conditions of all government.

All dissidents, whether Liberal or Republican, Thiers equally with Jules Favre, were opposed tooth and nail by the Government. Their newspapers were seized, their meetings dissolved, and, frequently, their electoral operations interfered with; but in spite of all, forty different opponents of the Empire, including the Legitimist Berryer, the Orleanist Thiers, such Republicans as Jules Favre, Pelletan, &c., succeeded in being elected, and the final result of the ballot showed that if the rural populations still supported the Government, the smaller towns were rapidly becoming Liberal, and the larger centres Radical.

To remain blind to this manifestation of public opinion was impossible. In Government circles, indeed, satisfaction was affected, but all the memoirs of the

stances was not to be thought of, and at first there was no attempt at it.

The Government took quite another course. On the 23rd of June the Emperor cast off Persigny, the Minister of the Interior, who had erred during the elections by excess of zeal, and seized the opportunity to suppress the ministers "without portfolio" who had been appointed in 1860. There was, in truth, a certain absurdity in having the acts of the Government defended in the Chamber, not by responsible ministers, the authors of these acts, but by a species of official advocates.

For the moment the right of addressing the Chamber was not granted to all ministers, but one of their number, the so-called Minister of State, was permanently empowered to speak for them.

This was a move in the direction of naming a president of the Council, and Rouher, who was entrusted with the new functions, gave evidence during many years of an intellectual and oratorical fertility and of resource which was, unfortunately, not accompanied by a corresponding force of character. The "Vice-Emperor," as he was later nicknamed, was chiefly remarkable for extreme docility towards his Sovereign.

Another appointment made at this time was that of Victor Duruy to the Ministry of Public Instruction. A man of broad and thoughtful mind, he removed the drawbacks from which education had suffered since 1852, by restoring Philosophy to a place in the scholastic programme, and by introducing the study of contemporary history.

To him also was due the institution of literary and scientific lectures, and courses of instruction for young girls, by means of which new life was introduced into the University; and had he been able to overcome the opposition of the Court and the clergy, he would have carried out a project for free, obligatory Primary Schools.

Still more direct bids for public favour were two Bills, one which conceded the right of strike to artisans, and another, addressed more particularly to the agricultural populations, increased the prerogatives of municipal and general councillors.

The first part of this scheme became law on the 25th of May, 1864, when it ceased to be an offence for workers to strike, although they were not yet to be allowed to meet for the purpose of deciding on con-

evolution of Liberalism must inevitably lead to ministerial responsibility, which was also the crowning guarantee for every other form of freedom demanded by the country.

This programme, which was announced for the first time as a whole in 1864, and was advocated, partially or entirely, on different occasions by speakers of all shades of opinion, even by warm supporters of the Empire, rapidly gained adherents, but from Rouher it was always met with a categorical *non possumus*. He did not wish, he said, to deprive the Emperor of the right of governing in order to return to "superannuated constitutional fictions." The "Vice-Emperor" was encouraged to hold this language by a certain improvement which, towards the end of 1864, had taken place in the general situation of affairs.

The commercial crisis came to an end when the American war ceased; the quarrel about the Duchies was, at least, temporarily adjusted by the treaty of the 30th of October, 1864; and a convention concluded on the 15th of September of the same year between France and Italy seemed to close the Roman question by stipulating that the French troops should evacuate Rome within two years, and that Italy should guarantee possession to the Pope of all that remained to him of the Pontifical States.

The calm was, however, not destined to last. The convention of the 15th of September had been concluded without the consent of the Pope, and Pius IX., who was unanimously supported on the point by the French clergy, saw in it the practical abandonment

of the sacred cause of the Temporal Power. He protested in his own fashion by publishing the famous encyclical *Quanta cura*, better known as the Syllabus, in which, after an exaggerated defence of the ancient *régime*, he denounced and anathematised as factious all doctrines based upon national sovereignty, universal suffrage, and liberty of conscience.

The French Government was disturbed by this publication, which attacked the very foundation of the Imperial edifice, and French priests were forbidden to read it from the pulpit. Hence arose, between the Empire and its Catholic subjects, a renewal of the old controversy, for while the Radicals began to agitate in favour of a separation between the Church and State, the majority of French-

on Austria, and that the latter had been beaten on the 3rd of July at Sadowa, with the result that Francis Joseph had to cede Venetia to Italy and the Duchies to Prussia, and withdrawing finally from the Germanic Confederation, had allowed this to fall under the hegemony of the Court of Berlin (Preliminaries of Nikolsburg and Treaty of Prague, 27th of July and 23rd of August, 1866). Throughout this business the Government of Napoleon III. had remained neutral, neither intervening to prevent the war nor showing any prevision of the crushing victory which Prussia was about to carry off. The Emperor, who during all his reign had been chiefly preoccupied with the Italian question, allowed himself now to be swayed by sympathy for that country, and flattered himself that by an alliance with the States of Southern Germany he would be able to counterbalance the influence which a now homogeneous Prussia was obtaining in the North.

In vain at the first lowering of the storm Thiers, Jules Favre, and even Emile Ollivier, who on other points was being gradually won over to the Emperor, had spoken warning words in the Chamber. In the mind of Napoleon III. dreams were more potent than any conception of the true interests of France.

The suddenness of the shock, however, and the profound impression produced in France by the battle of Sadowa disturbed and disquieted him. He perceived very clearly the necessity under which he would find himself, in order to be prepared for graver eventualities still, to demand sacrifices in men and

money from the nation, with the object of augmenting the army.

But how to obtain such sacrifices, when belief in the infallibility of the sovereign existed no longer either in the mind of the nation or of the emperor himself?

It became indispensable to give something to the anxious country in return for all that was to be asked of it, and to this necessity was due the decree of the 19th of January, 1867, which, like all its predecessors, was published after a period of absolute silence. By this decree the Address from the Throne was suppressed, and there succeeded to it a general right of question which, although hedged round by complicated formalities, at least allowed the Chambers to

matters it was full of hesitations and contradictions. There was a Court party round the Emperor and another party in the Chamber which watched with regret the demolition by the sovereign himself of the Constitution originally established by himself. Every time that it was possible to check him in his course towards Liberalism the effort was eagerly made, and Napoleon III., prematurely old, and always unwilling to act unless under pressure, yielded at intervals to the reactionary influences brought to bear upon his mind, and thus lost the benefit of the rare wise acts which he was still capable of initiating.

Rouher, too, was only progressive under protest, and too deeply committed to the policy of resistance to be able to alter now, except with an immeasurable loss of importance. His chief preoccupation, moreover, was to defend his position against the growing influence which Emile Ollivier was acquiring over the Emperor.

The session of 1867 consequently passed without any realisation of the promises made on the 19th of January. The long-expected Municipalities Act became law, another giving a large degree of liberty to commercial associations was also passed, but neither the press nor public meetings were released from their legal disabilities, and the Government failed to obtain a favourable vote for a project regarding the army, which was yet of the first importance.

Once again did considerations of foreign policy oblige the Government to carry out the promised reforms. Almost immediately after Sadowa, Napoleon III. hastened to recall the troops which he had left in Mexico. They had hardly embarked on their

homeward journey before the Emperor Maximilian was seized and shot by his subjects of an hour (June 19, 1867). At the same time the French Cabinet, humiliated and alarmed by the consequences of the battle of Sadowa, had sought for a compensation and a guarantee in the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg; but later, tricked by Prussia, which at first had maliciously encouraged the enterprise, it had to renounce the idea of annexation, and content itself with a mere neutralisation of the territory (Convention of London, May 11, 1867).

To crown all, a body of Garibaldian volunteers had attacked the Pontifical States, and France had been forced hastily to despatch two divisions for the protection of the Pope (November, 1867).

The object in view was to form an Auxiliary Army to which summary instruction should be given annually in time of peace.

As to the press (May 11), it was freed from the necessity of preliminary authorisation, and exempted from administrative penalties. As to public meetings (June 6), preliminary authorisation was in their case only maintained when political or religious questions were to be discussed, out of the electoral season.

These various Acts did not pass the Chambers without difficulty. Opposition to the extension of obligatory military service was carried beyond bounds; and while the Radicals were denouncing the other two Acts as inadequate and unreal, the Extreme Right, which had lately undertaken the task of defending the events of 1852 against the Emperor himself, attacked them as being dangerous to the Crown and to Society. The Acts passed all the same; but while the Empire was thus contradicting its first principles, and forcing its servants to eat their own past words and nullify their own past acts, certain prominent Imperialists were found to declare that the constitutional responsibility of the Chief of the State was a myth, and must in any case become a menace to the future stability of the dynasty.

Ministerial responsibility was demanded in circles where formerly it had been most energetically opposed, the object being to protect the Emperor against contentions of the hour and relieve him from the burden of the errors which had been committed. By the end of 1868 everybody foresaw a crisis.

The first use made of the new liberties showed that

problems cannot be solved by denying their existence, or peace be established by imposing silence. The ideas of 1848 which were believed to be extinct had simply smouldered underneath; and public meetings revealed a Socialist movement which was all the stronger for having been so long repressed. Formidable strikes had to be put down by force, and multiplied sentences did not avail to silence the revolutionary utterances of various new journals. In the streets of Paris itself there were Republican demonstrations, and the Government — discredited abroad, served by bewildered functionaries, assailed by an embittered clergy and an Opposition, already divided indeed, but as intemperate as it was inexperienced, and supported only by a majority weary of

towns, and all more or less irreconcilable, and 264 "dynastics," among whom, however, almost the half were Parliamentary Liberals, who with the Left made up the numerical majority of the Chamber.

Personal government lay prone. Had he been wise, Napoleon III. would at once have confided the direction of the movement to the "dynastic" Liberals: that was the only chance left to him of saving the Empire. But he shrank from so decided a capitulation: once again he hesitated, and when he at last made up his mind to complete the evolution begun in 1860, it was too late.

The Chamber was convened for the 28th of June with the sole object of verifying the powers of its members. On the 8th of July, 116 deputies, all belonging to the "dynastic" Liberals or Third Party, among whom were Buffet, Emile Ollivier, &c., moved to ask the views of the Chamber "as to the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country by allowing it a larger part in the management of its affairs," an object which the movers considered could only be attained through the constitution of a responsible Ministry, and the concession to the Chamber of the right of specifying the conditions of its own labours, and of its communications to the Government.

The Government was alarmed at this energetic claim to Parliamentary liberty, and prorogued the Chamber so as to avoid replying to the motion, while at the same time announcing the intention of studying the means of gratifying the desire which the deputies had expressed.

The study thus undertaken had a double result.

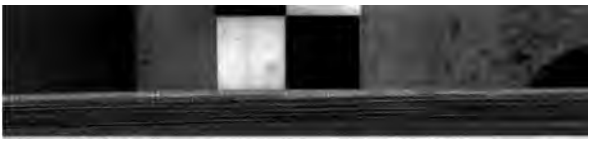
Rouher left the Ministry to become President of the Senate,[1] and a *Senatus-Consulte* of the 8th of September, 1869, decreed that henceforth the Chamber should share with the Emperor the right of initiating laws, that it should be accorded the right of integral amendment, that ministers should be responsible, that the right of interpellation should be freed from the restriction to which it had hitherto been subject, that the Legislature should elect its committee (*bureau*) and manage its own internal affairs, that treaties of commerce should be submitted to Parliament before ratification, and that the Budget should be voted in separate heads.

Thus was the Constitution of the year 1852 almost completely destroyed. Napoleon III. solemnly disavowed the principles which he had once declared to be essential to the government of the country, and virtually made a public and radical confession of weakness and error.

But how could France believe in the sincerity of this confession when seeing the Emperor still surrounded with the men who had professed and practised contrary principles?

Rouher, indeed, had withdrawn himself, but his subordinates and collaborators remained in possession of the various ministries. There are hours in the life of nations when changes of persons are more important and more significant than modifications of constitutional texts.

[1] The confusion in the Government is proved by the fact that during the last two years of the Empire the Minister of Foreign Affairs was changed arbitrarily six times.



But Napoleon III. was now afflicted with that sort of senility which cannot accustom itself to new faces; and this completed the exasperation of the Third Party, who were disappointed in their hopes of coming into power.

The Emperor, however, perceived at last that he could not hope to dispel the uneasiness of the country, unless he summoned new men to his councils. On the 27th of December he wrote to Emile Ollivier begging him to indicate some persons who would be prepared to join him in forming a Cabinet "fully representative of the majority in the Chamber, and determined to carry out, in letter and in spirit, the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 8th of September."

The task was already more difficult than it would have been six months previously, for, thanks to the hesitations of the Government, the anarchy of Parliament had rapidly increased. The Extreme Right, led by Jérôme David and Granier de Cassagnac exhibited more and more discontent at the Empire's departure from old principles. The One Hundred and Sixteen had become One Hundred and Fifty, and then divided, two-thirds forming a kind of Right Centre under Emile Ollivier, the remainder a Left Centre which chiefly followed the lead of Buffet. The Left itself had also broken up into two groups, of which one, under the guidance of Jules Favre and Ernest Picard, was disposed to treat the reforms of the Empire with favour, while the other, headed by Rochefort, Raspail, &c., already advanced claims to an unbridled democracy.

Nevertheless on the 2nd of January, 1870, Emile

Ollivier succeeded in forming a Ministry composed of elements from the two Centres, and at once proved his sincere attachment to Liberalism by dismissing a great number of functionaries compromised through excess of zeal; and by presenting two Bills, one of which forced the Government to choose the Mayors from among the members of Municipal Councils, and the other conferred on Councils-General the right of electing their Presidents and of publishing a Report of their meetings (22nd and 23rd of July). The Chamber even voted a reduction in the Stamp Duty for the Press, and referred newspaper offences once more to juries; but these measures, delayed in the Senate, had not time to pass before the tragical events which marked the months

power. The idea occurred to him that he might renew his force by means of one of those appeals to popular opinion which eighteen years previously had crowned his omnipotence.

On pretence that the innumerable constitutional reforms introduced since 1860 required the ratification of the country, on the 21st of March he ordered Emile Olliver to prepare a *Senatus-Consulte* codifying all these reforms, and affirming at one and the same time the Emperor's continued responsibility to the nation, and his exclusive right to introduce modifications into the Constitution. And at the beginning of April it was decided, at the instigation of Rouher, that this *Senatus-Consulte* should form the subject of a plebiscite. Emile Ollivier did not approve of this course, which did, in fact, belie all the recent parliamentary reforms of the Empire, but he could not make up his mind to oppose it, and even accepted the resignation of the members of his Cabinet who belonged to the Left Centre rather than enter upon a struggle with the Emperor himself.

The plebiscite took place on the 8th of May. It was insidiously worded in the following terms: "The people approve of the liberal reforms which the Emperor has introduced into the Constitution, and ratify the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 20th of April." As the votes were taken *en bloc*, the formula had either to be rejected in its entirety, or the people had simultaneously to signify approval of the Emperor and his reforms and the imperfections still subsisting in the Constitution. Consequently an important section of the Left and a notable group of "dynastic"

Liberals preferred to abstain from voting, and there were finally 7,359,000 affirmative suffrages, against 1,572,000 negatives and 1,900,000 abstentions.

This victory determined the ruin of the Empire and the mutilation of France. Napoleon III. believed that he still possessed the confidence of the country, and that a little external glory succeeding to so many reverses would restore his shaken authority. He was encouraged in this idea by his family and by the Imperialist majority, who felt the ground giving way beneath their feet. For the rest, ever since Sadowa and the Luxemburg affair everybody was persuaded of the imminency of a quarrel with Germany, and that country, energetically directed by Bismarck, preferred to precipitate events, rather than wait until

former solemnly declared that it would never consent to the presence of a German sovereign in Madrid. The King of Prussia, head of the House of Hohenzollern, then ordered his cousin to withdraw his candidature. Emboldened by this success, the Duke de Grammont, French Foreign Minister, advanced fresh pretensions. He required a promise from Prussia never to allow the candidature to be renewed. This King William refused, and Bismarck, abetted by the unscrupulousness or the simplicity of De Grammont, allowed a report to be spread throughout Europe that the French Ambassador had been ill-treated by the Prussian monarch. This report, absolutely baseless as it turned out, put the crown to public excitement in France. Since the 5th of July not a day passed that either the Corps Législatif or the Senate had not shown some warlike tendency, and when, on the 15th, De Grammont announced the mobilisation of the reserves, it was in vain that Thiers, Jules Favre, Buffet, and others called for explanations and delay. On the 19th war was officially declared, and the Chamber prorogued.

Nothing was in readiness for such a tremendous undertaking. The Empire had neither soldiers nor allies. Its precipitation in acting had not allowed it to make sure of the assistance of Austria. The military magazines were empty, and the army which had figured since 1868 on paper had not received the necessary instruction. The defeats at Weissenburg, Reichshoffen, and Forbach, on the 2nd, 4th, and 6th of August, opened the eyes of the most blindly optimistic. The Chamber was hastily re-

summoned, and on the 9th overturned Ollivier's Ministry. The next day a Cabinet, presided over by General Count de Palikao, was formed out of the elements of the Right Wing and Centre, and immediately began to organise the defence of Paris, which was felt to be already in danger. Napoleon III. left to place himself at the head of one of his armies, and while Bazaine, beaten several times beneath the walls of Metz (at Borny, Gravelotte, and Vionville, 14th to 18th of August), finally allowed himself to be shut up there, the Emperor marched on Sedan, was there vanquished on the 1st of September and surrendered with his whole army to the Prussian King the next day.

Thus less than six weeks after the commencement

The Empire had fallen, in shame and degradation, the victim even more of its own ineptitude than of the attacks of its adversaries, after having killed liberty at its rise, and mutilated the country in its fall.

The Emperor, always dreaming, always resigned, was conveyed as a prisoner to Wilhelmshohe. He—in the words of Jules Lemaitre—"had confusedly ruminated on the enfranchisement of nations, and the establishment of a Socialist and yet Cæsarian Democracy. These great designs were vaguely conceived by his imagination—the imagination of a gentle fatalist who, dazzled by the prodigious destiny of which he was the plaything while believing himself to be its hero, had indolently confided in the virtue of his star."

XIV.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE—THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

(*September*, 1870—*December* 31, 1875.)

THE Empire had been wrecked by the self-contradictions of its origin, not having known how to find

only too completely succeeded in belittling and misleading the middle class. This class had already lost social prestige through the paltriness of the struggles in which it had engaged from 1848 to 1851, and now deprived of all participation in public life, it parted with the last remnant of authority which it might still have boasted.

Under the influence of the speculative fever which the economical movement of the Second Empire had provoked, the *bourgeoisie* became more practical-minded, more self-seeking and selfish than before, and to such a degree that when the Military Act of 1868 was debated in the presence of national peril, it endeavoured to drive a hard bargain with the Government for the military services of its sons.

A few members of the middle class had remained attached to Liberal principles, but they constituted such a small minority, that in order to be victorious they had to seek alliances in quarters from which they would once have shrunk with horror. After the Italian war, they made common cause with the Catholics, and thanks to this unexpected alliance the French *bourgeoisie* ceased to be Voltairian, and borrowed from the Church many points of view and not a few rules of conduct. And, finally, as lawyers alone had preserved some right of free speech, the middle class caught from them the infection of oratorical flights, which, being unpractical and irresponsible, naturally produced no lasting result.

As to the Democratic party, it had been exasperated by the long waiting for the golden vistas which the events of 1848 had disclosed for a moment, and

towards which it was hoped that a Bonaparte would lead the way. Not having been allowed to learn anything from experience, this party had failed to perceive which of its aspirations were too visionary for human nature to realise, and which might be susceptible of an early application. Socialists were just as wild, as intemperate and as ignorant in 1870 as in 1848—perhaps more so, and they were nourished on sentiment and appeased with words, for the simple reason that no theory had been reduced to practice, and nothing had been attempted for the political education of the masses.

In Socialism there were strong forces, still inexperienced, incoherent, and undisciplined, distrustful also of Parliamentarism which had been adopted only by

the 4th of September and the conclusion of peace. While Thiers was travelling here and there in Europe in a vain effort to gain help for France, and the majority of the members of the Provisional Government remained in Paris during the siege, sparing no effort to maintain the moral and physical energy of two millions of people, other officials installed themselves first at Tours, and then at Bordeaux, and, inspired by the courageous direction of Gambetta, a young advocate whom nothing had prepared for such a part, but who in the pressing peril of the hour displayed extraordinary eloquence and a marvellous faculty for organisation, they improvised soldiers and commanders, and showed themselves the equals of the old Convention in their patriotism, while rising superior to it by the perfect humanity of their behaviour.

For five months and a half Paris endured the siege, the bombardment of its walls, and the pangs of hunger, while making useless sorties; for five months and a half the provinces furnished armed levies, which under Generals d'Aurelles de Paladines, Chanzy, Faidherbe, and others fought with honour if not with success. But all was useless. The capitulation of Metz, on the 27th of October, was followed by that of all the large Alsatian towns; and after a success at Coulmiers on the 9th of November, the Army of the Loire was defeated at Beaune-la-Rolande (November 28), at Orleans (December 3), at Le Mans (January 12, 1871), the Army of the North at Villers-Bretonneux (November 27), Pont-Noyelle (December 23), St. Quentin (January 19, 1871),

and the Army of the East at Villersexel and Dijon (January, 1871). Paris, famished, had at last to capitulate on the 29th of January, 1871, when the preliminaries of peace signed on that day at Versailles, and confirmed by the Treaty of Frankfort on the 10th of May, deprived France of all of Alsace except Belfort, and a portion of Lorraine which included Metz, without speaking of an indemnity of war amounting to five milliards, until full payment of which the German army was to continue the occupation of the territory.

Twice, during this trying period, the Government of National Defence had desired to summon the electors for the choice of a Constituent Assembly, but in order to do this an armistice was necessary,

of February at Bordeaux, and, after taking over the powers of the Government of National Defence, it elected, on the 16th, Jules Grévy for its President. On the 17th, Thiers—so lately distinguished by his mission to Europe as well as by his consistent opposition to the foreign policy of the Empire—was appointed "Chief of the Executive of the French Republic." This was a choice which the Assembly could not evade, Thiers having been elected to the Assembly by twenty-six departments, and the title bestowed on him borrowed all its significance from the vote given, on the 1st of March, by the Assembly with only six dissentients, by which the Empire was declared to have fallen, and pronounced "responsible for the ruin, the invasion and the dismemberment of France."

But this was only a preamble. The question was: what would the Assembly do henceforward? Its composition was anomalous, for, while elected with the object of concluding peace, it did not possess a majority on a single other point. On the political side no Chamber could have been more heterogeneous. Out of 750 members there were barely 250 genuine Republicans, and a dozen of these were irreconcilable, almost Revolutionists, like Louis Blanc, Rochefort, &c. Of Bonapartists there were about thirty, and even these hardly dared call themselves by a name so unpopular at a moment when the disasters brought about by Napoleon III. were still fresh. Some thirty more deputies were known as "savages," and their convictions followed whither the wind blew; a hundred or so were

Legitimists, whom the clergy had pushed to the front, but who lacked proper leaders; three hundred were mostly Orleanists, and as such were destined to form the Right Centre; and the surplus consisted of Liberals, who were later, under the direction of Thiers, to constitute the Left Centre, and who, beginning by distrusting the Republic, were eventually won over to it through detestation of the Empire. In other words, there was a monarchical majority, which could not establish a Monarchy because divided into three great rival groups, each with a Pretender; and a republican minority, which profited by the divisions among its adversaries to achieve the form of government preferred by itself. On all sides mutual suspicion reigned, causing the Assembly to waste its energies

of industry, many conflicting aspirations, and consequently much impotence; but, on the whole, the Assembly was one of the most remarkable which France ever possessed, and the task of national reconstruction which it eventually accomplished assumed proportions well-nigh superhuman. The weakened and impoverished country had to be reorganised, the army reconstructed, the finances restored, the enormous indemnity exacted by the conqueror paid, and the territory liberated from the army of occupation. To this immense task Thiers addressed himself with marvellous energy and patriotism. On the 19th of February he formed a Ministry consisting of three Republicans and six members of the Right Centre, thus inviting the co-operation of all parties in his enterprise. In a great speech delivered on the 11th of March he summoned the representatives of the nation to defer all discussion of constitutional questions until such time as the national resources should be reconstituted. The truce thus proposed, and which is known as the Compact of Bordeaux, was accepted by all. Leaving aside all patriotic considerations—although these indisputably prevailed—the Republicans had everything to gain by obtaining time for the country to live under a Government known by their name, while the Monarchists were by no means anxious to impose upon their princes the responsibility of the taxes and military subsidies which it was indispensable to require from the country.

On the same day the Assembly decided to adjourn until the 20th, and to transport the seat of government from Bordeaux to Versailles. On arriving in the

last-named town, it was found that the situation of affairs had become greatly aggravated through the Parisian insurrection.

Machiavelli remarked with acumen that almost all the great sieges known to history have terminated with seditions, for the moral and physical sufferings of the people predispose them to be influenced by agitators, while the arms with which they are unavoidably provided, furnish the weapons for a rising. Paris was unfortunately to offer no exception to the rule. Already during the siege, on the 31st of October, 1870, it had been necessary to employ force for the repression of a popular rising, and by degrees, as military operations were prolonged, the opinion began to gain ground that the chiefs were

the 18th of March, and showed itself immediately to be so serious, that the members of Government who were still in Paris departed for Versailles with the regular troops of the garrison, and thus left the ground clear for the Commune.

Some days were consumed in vain negotiations with the object of preventing the Parisians from engaging in any political action, while endeavouring to afford them satisfaction in the matter of municipal franchises. But as soon as they had elected a Municipal Council, on the 28th, the leaders of the movement unmasked themselves, and advanced a claim to act everywhere and in everything in the place of the regular Government. The answer of the latter was prompt. On the 6th of April, with an army hastily composed of the troops which had evacuated Paris on the 18th and the prisoners returning from Germany, the second siege of Paris began, Frenchmen being arrayed this time against Frenchmen, in the presence of the Germans who still occupied the northern outskirts of the town. The siege lasted more than six weeks: it was only on the 28th of May that the Versailles troops succeeded in occupying Paris.

In the interval the Commune had given a repetition in miniature of the National Convention embellished by the Socialism of 1848. Jourde and his following of Socialists properly so-called, who formed a minority and were soon effaced by the purely revolutionary element, spoke of seizing for the proletariate the workshops which had been abandoned and of fixing a minimum wage. Cluseret, Delescluze, Paschal Grousset, and the other revolutionaries, were satisfied

with occupying administrative posts and governing as energetically as possible, while suspecting, watching, and execrating one another, and pushing their determination as far as murder and incendiarism when they found themselves finally brought to bay by the Versailles troops.

On both sides the struggle was sanguinary, even savage. Foot by foot all the principal centres of the town were disputed, and when Paris was at last won, eleven thousand prisoners were brought before the Councils of War.[1]

These lamentable and tragic events were not of a nature to convert the majority of the National Assembly to Republican ideas. For a long time a sombre memory brooded over the Chamber and the

The army needed to be completely reorganised, and on the 27th of July, 1872, a law was passed to this effect, which was a tardy emulation of the example given by Prussia the day after the battle of Jena, inasmuch as it established universal compulsory military service for all citizens between twenty and forty, with five years of active service for all except certain so-called "capacitaires," who were allowed to remain for one year only under arms.

To complete these reforms it would have been necessary to pass an Act for the immediate instruction of all young Frenchmen. In spite of the efforts at primary education made by Victor Duruy, there were still five hundred thousand totally illiterate children. Jules Simon endeavoured vainly to induce the Assembly to decree that instruction should be compulsory, without exacting that it should at the same time be gratuitous and lay (December, 1871). The hostility of the majority to all teaching not primarily religious was such that the Assembly, not feeling certain of being able to hand over all the public schools to ecclesiastical congregations, simply dropped the project.

Although there was as yet no desire to attack true constitutional problems, it appeared advisable to define the relations of the head of the Executive with the representatives of the nation.

A law of the 3rd of September, 1871, decided that the "President of the Republic" should be responsible to the Assembly, which might remove him at will; also that he might address it—which was a thing he had never been supposed to do since his election. At

the same time the law proclaimed—perhaps the most important point of all—that the Assembly was possessed of constitutional powers. This statement was a clear answer to certain recent pretensions of the Republicans. The greater number of the bye-elections had been favourable to this party, which, feeling the country to be with it, desired to contest the right of an Assembly, where it was in a minority, to pass laws for a Constitution. The Monarchists, for precisely contrary reasons, were all the more determined to accomplish their political mission, that they were sensible of having lost influence. Moreover, believing that Thiers, by the simple fact of his presence at the head of affairs, would be able to facilitate the impending evolution of opinion, they began to batter

[*From a Photo. by E. Appert, Paris.*

THIERS.

or he had to threaten to resign (indeed, he did so twice, when the election of mayors or the imposition of new taxes was in question) in order to influence the decisions of the Assembly.

The latter always ended by yielding, because it felt that until the territory was liberated, that is until the indemnity should be paid off, Thiers was indispensable to the country; but the opposition of the majority to him grew greater as it was embittered by all these forced concessions, and the clergy, exasperated by hope deferred, multiplied its noisy demonstrations, and even went so far as to petition for the re-establishment of the Temporal Power—as if France, weakened and dismembered, could be launched upon such a crazy adventure!

This clear and decided pronouncement hastened the outbreak of the storm. If the more advanced Republicans had the wisdom to see that their duty lay in following the lead of Thiers, such was not the case with the Monarchists, who had not the courage to renounce their hopes. They showed their intentions in the Act of the 13th of March, 1873, which made an apparent concession to reasonable ideas by promising the institution of two Chambers to succeed the Assembly, but aimed immediately at protecting the majority from the effect of Thiers' persuasive eloquence, by stipulating that henceforward no vote should be taken in a sitting wherein he had spoken. And having learnt on the 17th of March that in recent conventions concluded with Germany that country had fixed new and earlier dates for the payments of the indemnity, and the consequent evacuation of French territory, the majority thought the moment had come for dispensing safely with Thiers' services. The campaign against him was ably conducted by Buffet, the Duke de Broglie, Ernoul, Magne, &c.; that is to say, by a coalition of the three monarchical groups. The first move was to overturn Jules Grévy and place Buffet in the presidential chair (April 4); then, on a motion to censure the Government for making terms with the most violent Radicals, a majority of sixteen was found to pronounce against Thiers. He was replaced at once by Marshal MacMahon, who had been kept carefully in reserve for such an opportunity (May 24, 1873), and he on the following day formed a ministry under the Premiership of the Duke de Broglie, which was

to combat Republican ideas, to govern resolutely and energetically on conservative lines, and to undertake the re-establishment of "moral order" before setting about to solve the constitutional problem.

Numerous and significant changes among the holders of government posts, the administrative suppression of several journals (in certain departments the state of siege still existed), the prohibition to sell or circulate (*colporter*) others, a marked indulgence towards the Catholic agitation—an indulgence which often went so far as to overlook the rights of free-thinkers, were all features of the new Government.

But the Republican party, now dominated by the growing influence of Thiers, had the sense to oppose to this gross effort at reaction, a patience and

And, in fact, in 1873 as in 1850 the more able Monarchists brought about a fusion between the elder and younger branch of the Bourbons. As the Count de Chambord, heir to Charles X., had no children, it seemed quite simple that the Count de Paris, grandson of Louis-Philippe, should let him come first to the throne. Already on the 8th of June, 1871, the Assembly had annulled the Acts of 1832 and 1848, by which the members of the Bourbon and the Orleans families [1] were excluded from French territory, and it seemed as if only a slight effort would be necessary to restore a monarchy in France. But in 1873 as in 1850, even the ablest left out of account the uncompromising attitude of the Count de Chambord. He accepted the submission of his rival and cousin, but refused absolutely to bind himself in advance by any promises to the country of constitutional guarantees, nor would he even accept the tricolour flag. He desired to reign by Right Divine alone, and before the end of October he broke off all negotiations. Out of all these treaties only two things then remained: the anger of the Bonapartists at having been excluded, not without good reason, from the conferences of the colleagues of the Right; and the irritation of the country which, ever since the first mention of a Restoration, had

[1] The Assembly had even restored to the latter the value of the property which had been confiscated from them during the Second Empire, a measure to which Thiers had consented in the well-founded belief that the Orleans would discredit themselves in the eyes of the nation by accepting money at a moment when the country was burdened with a heavy war indemnity.

lost no opportunity of returning Republicans at the bye-elections.

It was not possible, however, to leave France for ever under the Provisional Government which had been proclaimed at Bordeaux on the day after the war. And the leaders of the majority consequently conceived the strange idea of establishing another Provisional Government rather more regular, perhaps even definitive, which should allow the Count de Chambord to die in peace and carry the white flag to his grave, while leaving the throne open to the Count de Paris. Hence the Act of the 19th of November, 1873, which instituted the "Septennate." Article 1 laid down that Marshal MacMahon should continue President for seven years; Article 2 stipulated that

instincts of the country to their own advantage, and led them to commence an electoral agitation, which in 1874 resulted in their reacquiring a small number of seats.

At the same time the Catholic press, furious at the failure of the attempt at fusion, began to grow restive, and on pretence of discussing the Kulturkampf laws against Prussian Catholics, attacked Germany with such violence, that the Ministry found itself constrained to curb these expressions so as to avoid foreign complications. In vain the Duke de Broglie gave the most incontestable proofs of his "conservatism," by supporting in the Assembly a motion for reducing the number of electors, in accordance with a system resembling that of the notorious law of the 31st of May, 1850,[1] and by carrying through the Municipal Act of the 24th of January, 1874, which restored the right of nominating mayors in all communes to the Executive,[2] and allowed of their being chosen outside the municipal councils. In spite of all this zeal, which gave the exact measure of the pretended Liberalism of his party, De Broglie did not succeed in recovering his leadership of the majority, nor in appeasing the rancour excited by the Septennate. On the 16th of May, 1874, he was overthrown by a coalition of Republicans with an important group of Legitimists and some Bonapartists. The previous coalition, that which had defeated Thiers twelve months earlier, was already broken up. The new one, however, was too heterogeneous to assume the direction of affairs.

[1] See above, p. 283.

[2] See above, p. 301.

combination. But the General was
and the monarchical majority still dis
to succeed in adjourning once agai
of the Constitution (July 23), and th
Assembly from pronouncing on the
ment to be given to the country.

There was no reason why the Par
should not continue indefinitely. Wh
was requested to make a declaratic
of the Constitution, it refused, and rep
when urged to allow the country to
means of a General Election (Propo
Centre, July 29, 1874). Not being a
Monarchy, it did not choose to conse
and as the law placed no limit to t
powers, the unstable equilibrium no
probably have continued until the
death of the Count de Chambord, h
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alarmed such of the Monarchists as
of public liberty and hatred of the
ride their desire for a Restoration.

The Bonapartist agitation took

several times to resort to suppression. The party also obtained some electoral successes which, although not numerous, proved that there was a certain Imperialist reawakening in the rural districts.

This revival in militant shape of the Napoleonic idea brought reflection to the Right Centre, whom Thiers had vainly endeavoured to rally to the Republic, and towards the end of 1874 this group threw as much zeal into demanding a Constitution as it had shown in opposing any such movement during preceding sessions. Fear prevailed where reason had been impotent.

There is something both dramatic and comic in the history of the months of January and February, 1875, during which this conversion of the Right Centre was gradually taking place. It was dramatic owing to the primordial gravity of the interests involved, and the uncertainty and narrowness of the voting which more than once threatened the destruction of all hopes. It was comic because of the negotiations and the compromises to which both sides resorted, the obstinacy of the Monarchists in rejecting the Republican chalice when offered, and their dismay at finding themselves vanquished in the end.

Two Acts, however, resulted, one on the Senate (February 24) and another (February 25) on the organisation of the Government. These Acts, joined to a third on the relation between the various powers of Government which passed on the 16th of July, form what is usually known as the Constitution of the year 1875, and this, although twice revised, has continued to exist without essential alteration from the time of its

foundation up to the present day. It conferred upon France a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, both elective, which meet in National Assembly either to elect a new President at the expiration of that functionary's seven years of office,[1] or to introduce such changes into the Constitution as both Chambers have previously agreed upon.

The President is held to be irresponsible, except in cases of high treason; and an outgoing President may be re-elected for another seven years. He appoints and dismisses ministers, who sit in Parliament and are jointly and individually responsible to it for their acts. The President, with the consent of the Senate, may dissolve the Chamber.

The Senate is elected for nine years, but one-third

The Deputies to the Chamber are elected for four years by direct universal suffrage.[1]

Both Senators and Deputies are salaried at the rate of 9,000 francs a year, and, with very few exceptions, they are debarred from holding any administrative, judicial, or military post.

Parliament sits for, at least, five months in every year, counting from the second Tuesday in January, and may be summoned to an extraordinary session by the Chief of the State.

To Parliament and the President together belongs the initiative of laws. Parliament questions ministers, discusses the Budget section by section, and gives or withholds its consent to declarations of war and to treaties of delimitation or commerce, none of which may be carried without its authorisation. The Senate has to try ministers whom the Lower Chamber accuses, and, at the instance of the President, takes cognisance of attempts against the security of the State.[2]

The Constitution thus described is certainly far from perfect, and one could certainly desire improvement in one or two particulars. But it is the most

in 1884 these fixtures were suppressed, and their seats were distributed among the more important departments.

[1] From 1875 to 1885 elections were by uninominal ballot *(scrutin d'arrondissement)*, each *circonscription* having to return one deputy only. From 1885 to 1889 the ballot was departmental, but since 1889 this has been dropped and the earlier method resumed.

[2] The Constitution of 1875 made Versailles the seat of Government, but this was altered in 1879, when Paris once again became the capital. The legal age of Deputies is twenty-five, and of Senators forty. No member of royal families formerly reigning in France can be elected to either Chamber, or appointed President.

elastic and adaptable of any which France has known since 1789. It is free from the rocks on which previous Governments have been wrecked, and it leaves room for inevitable fluctuations of public opinion while sparing the country the experience of unduly sudden shocks. And having sprung from a National Assembly of monarchical tendencies which found itself forced to accept a Republic, it does not represent the particular doctrines of one faction more than of another; while its component parts, to the formation of which the experience of different countries and periods have contributed, are of such a nature as to restrain and counterbalance one another.

To this Constitution the world is indebted for a Parliamentary Republic, a conjunction until then

to give fresh indications of its state of mind. The day after the voting of the Constitution, the Cissey Cabinet, having been always in a minority, thought it was becoming to offer its resignation to the President. Marshal MacMahon then called upon Buffet, the President of the Assembly, to form a Ministry. Buffet chose the greater number of his colleagues (March 10, 1875) from among the minority which had voted against the Acts of the 24th and 25th of February. This was a singular method of inspiring in the country some confidence in the stability of its laws. Buffet, a former Orleanist, whom circumstances had obliged to inaugurate a form of government opposed to his own dreams, increased the general uneasiness by clearly showing that he wished to govern not only without the Republicans, but in a sense hostile to their views.

The Higher Education Act (July 12, 1875), although excellent in principle, appeared in the light of a new and unwarrantable concession to the pretensions of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as it accorded to that establishment peculiar privileges, denied to laymen, for the institution of schools for instruction in law, medicine, science, and art, and failed to reserve to the State the right of conferring degrees.[1]

The law on the Press (December 29, 1875), while restoring trial by jury in a certain number of cases, still (five years after the sad events of 1871) preserved the state of siege in Paris, Marseilles, and Lyons, and

[1] The bestowal of degrees is of particular importance in France, where there is no distinction, such as exists in Germany, between a scientific degree and a certificate of professional ability.

thus testified to an uncalled-for distrust of the results of the coming elections.

Consequently when the National Assembly at last separated on the 31st of December, 1875, the country hailed its departure with a sense of positive relief.

In spite of eminent services in the beginning of its career, when the nation had to be reconstituted, the outgoing Government was destined to be chiefly remembered for its waste of time and labour in the hopeless attempt to restore the French Monarchy.

In overturning the Liberator of French territory on the 24th of May, 1873, the Assembly had been guilty of the blackest ingratitude, and by failing to replace Thiers by a monarchical prince it had simply accentuated the folly of its own desires. And there was a

XV.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

(*January* 1, 1876—*January*, 1895.)

THE period which opens with the Constitution of 1875 does not yet belong to history proper, being too near to us for the events or the men distinguishing it, to be judged without prejudice or party spirit. The reader will understand that the author, who is engaged in political life, must limit himself to salient facts, without entering into chronological details, or attempting to pronounce any circumstantial judgments on persons who are, for the most part, still living.

The period to be described falls naturally into three distinct parts, of which it will be sufficient to note the principal characteristics in order to make clear the actual condition of the public mind and conduct.

From the end of 1877 almost until 1879 what we find is the epilogue of the dissensions of the National Assembly, the death-throes of the irreconcilable partizans of the Monarchical Restoration. From 1879 to 1885 the triumphant Republic settles down, organises itself, and confers upon the country all that

it requires for the education of the Democracy; while at the same time France, now thoroughly reconstituted, throws herself into colonial enterprises. Since 1885 the Republic has vanquished its internal enemies, and restored its external situation, but it has not been equally successful in reducing Parliamentary institutions to a normal state of activity or bringing legislative machinery into regular working order.

The General Elections of 1876 promptly revealed a division of parties which was to prevent France for a long time from obtaining a Parliamentary majority, and consequently a stable form of government.

The Monarchists, unable to resign themselves to the existence of the Republic, were already agitating for a revision of the Constitution. A small group,

tional Assembly, which should empower the Government to dismiss the Chief of the State at will, and should submit all fundamental laws to a popular Referendum, should disestablish the Church, impose a progressive tax upon capital and income, and, in compliance with the demands of renascent Socialism, should hand over the adminstration of the Bank of France, of railways, and mines to the State.

It will be seen consequently that the new Constitution was hardly proclaimed before it was attacked simultaneously by two opposing but irreducible factions, both of which were inclined, in spite of their radical differences of opinion, to join in negative votes while remaining incapable of concerting any action towards a definite end.

Responsible Ministers, selected from the Parliamentary mass, thus found themselves confronted simultaneously on the right by reactionaries, who had no real conservative tendencies, but only sought to overturn the Government with the object of effecting a Restoration; and on the left by irreconcilables struggling violently for what they called principles, wild to exercise some influence over the centralised administration which had survived all political changes in France, and, so far from facilitating the accomplishment of any necessary reforms, persisting in always asking something more than, or different from, that which was offered to them.

The situation was aggravated by yet two other political factors—one a legacy from the past, and the other determined by initial accidents in the working of the Constitution of 1875. The first was the

prejudice on the subject of personal power which a century of struggle has rooted in the French mind; the second was a feeling of suspicion regarding the Senate which began to spread from the first, and was attributable to the very composition of that body.

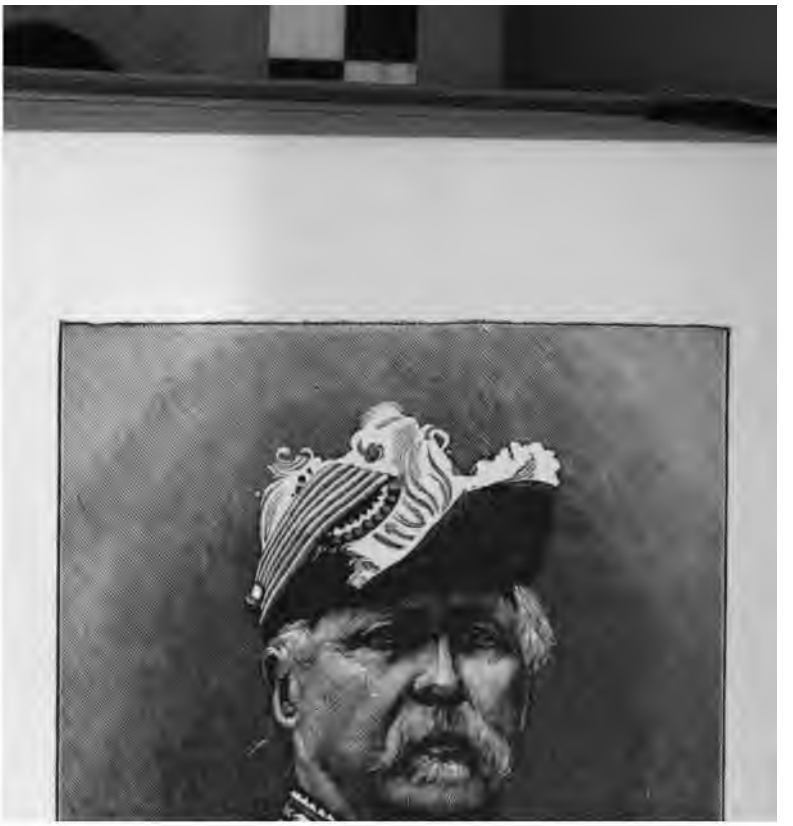
If there is one salient fact in the history of contemporary France, it is that the greater number of governments since the Revolution have perished through the abuse of personal power, while at each successive crisis the nation has cherished the illusion that it only needed to affirm its sovereignty in order that all might go well. Such was the case under Charles X. and Louis-Philippe, and, to a still greater degree, under both Empires.

Now the country did not realise the fact that, after

falsify the Constitution from the beginning, ministers preferring to succumb before accidental and ephemeral coalitions rather than incur the suspicion of exercising pressure, or seeking to cause a reaction when only making a loyal appeal to the country.

On the other hand it was difficult to gain acceptance for two Chambers from a people exceptionally favourable to simple ideas and to abstract logic. If a people, properly represented by its deputies, is really sovereign, why should the deputies be controlled and restricted in their actions by a second Chamber? This is the specious argument of the French, and the only answer to it lies in considerations of empirical politics such as are little likely to influence our modern irreconcilables.

The argument in question moreover gained a peculiar force from circumstances. For at the very moment when it had been decreed that power should be terminable at a fixed time everywhere, even in the case of the President of the Republic, the National Assembly, in the hope of surviving in substance though not in name—just as the Convention had still existed in the Constitution of the Year III.—conferred election for life, without responsibility of any sort, upon one-fourth of the Senators. And just as the people, in enjoyment at last of universal direct suffrage, had returned to the Chamber 350 Republicans against 150 Monarchists of different sorts, the majority of the Senate, elected by a less representative body, remained attached to monarchical traditions, up to the partial renewal of 1879. This was surely enough to generate and keep alive a feeling of suspicion



towards the Senate, which was thus paralysed in its action, and prevented from occupying in the Republic the position anticipated by the authors of the Constitution.

The General Election of 1876, thanks to which this essential discordance between the two Chambers arose, did not discourage the Monarchists. They remained convinced that the establishment of the Republic was a simple accident, and that encouraged by the Senate, and perhaps on occasion instructed by Marshal MacMahon, the President, public opinion would soon veer round to their side. Consequently while keeping up a spirit of resistance in the immediate adherents of MacMahon, they joined the clergy in preparing the ground for a new and speedy electoral conflict. An extraordinary religious agitation began throughout France immediately after the first ballot. Ultramontane demonstrations and petitions for the restoration of the Temporal Power abounded, while the Bishops in their circulars did not wait for an anti-Catholic spirit to show itself in the Republic before beginning to denounce it. In this manner each day added to that fundamental difference between parties which had been marked enough already in the National Assembly, but became still more profound as the struggle between the partisans and the adversaries of the Republic became more embittered.

The Monarchists of all shades turned for support to the powerful hierarchy of the Roman Church, while mere Liberals and simple Democrats alike were forced into opposition to the Church in order to deprive the reactionaries of their last refuge.

This state of things as early as 1876 led in Parliament to frequent sharp conflicts, and to a Ministerial instability which was unfortunately destined to endure.

The Buffet Cabinet resigned after the General Election, feeling that its composition was no longer consonant with the wishes of Parliament.

But in face of the masked hostility of the President and the open opposition of the Senate, where was a new Ministry to be found? Dufaure, who undertook at last to form the Cabinet of the 10th of March, thought it better to select its members from the most moderate and numerically least important fraction of the Republican party. In other words he turned to the Left Centre, and thus pleased neither the Presi-

was not marked by any legislative measure of importance, but the few liberal concessions which it was disposed to make, either in the matter of the press or the municipalities, sufficed to bring down upon it all the ferocious hatred of the adversaries of the Republic. At last, on the 16th of May, 1877, Marshal MacMahon, under pretence of his "responsibility towards the country," abruptly dismissed the Cabinet and summoned a new one under the premiership of the Duke de Broglie, which undertook to "make France step out," to restore that "moral order" which it affected to consider compromised, and to bring back men and things to the point where they had been when Thiers fell in 1873.

This ridiculous undertaking, marked in its different phases by the prorogation of Parliament, the dissolution of the Chamber, an odious electoral pressure, and innumerable press trials, resulted in a lamentable fiasco. On the 14th of October the electors returned a Republican majority which was about equal to that of 1876, but the infatuation of the Monarchists was such that even this unmistakable verdict did not suffice to crush them. The Duke de Broglie resigned indeed, but MacMahon, on the 23rd of November, formed an extra-parliamentary Cabinet, directed by General de Rochebouet, and a *coup d'état* was hinted at. Only the refusal of the Chamber to vote the budget and the threats of the little constitutional group in the Chamber induced the Marshal to surrender, and the crisis came to an end without further complications on the 13th of December, when Dufaure succeeded in forming a Ministry. But the length of time during

which it had lasted, and the flagrant abuse of power which had marked it, impressed the memory of the crisis ineffaceably on the public mind. Neither the Senate nor the President inspired any further confidence, and the recent dissolution had taken place under such conditions as to render any repetition of it impossible for a long time. The pretended Conservatives, leaders of the late criminal and inglorious campaign, were destined henceforward to be the objects of public mistrust and resentment, while the Republicans, taken by surprise, and forced to defend themselves with desperation, had been exasperated by the share taken in the struggle by priests and functionaries, and, with the resolve that there should be no renewal of such proceedings, they adopted almost

The Dufaure Ministry owed its lease of existence to this premature calm, and endeavoured chiefly, not without success, to heal the wounds left by the last crisis.

In 1879 the scene changed.

The partial renewal of the Senate having resulted in a Republican majority, Marshal MacMahon seized the first pretext which presented itself to resign; and the two Chambers, meeting at Versailles, appointed Jules Grévy as his successor.[1] Shortly afterwards it was decided to transport the seat of government once more to Paris. This time the Republicans were triumphant everywhere, and the question arose, what would they do with their power?

A great work, which may be considered the organisation of the Republic, was accomplished in the following years. By an Act of the 17th of June, 1880, Government interference was removed from hawking (*colportage*) and the sale of liquors; public meetings were henceforward to be freed from the necessity of any preliminary authorisation, and submitted merely to the formality of a simple declaration on the part of their organisers (June 30, 1881). The Press, thoroughly enfranchised, was to meet with such favourable treatment that it became almost impossible to bring any infringement of the law home to it, so complicated and slow was the judicial machinery brought to bear upon it, and so novel the definitions given of Press offences (July 29,

[1] M. Jules Grévy was then President of the Chamber, after having occupied the same position in the National Assembly in 1871. He was succeeded in the Chamber by Gambetta.

1881); the Municipal Councils, endowed now with the right of electing mayors in town and country (March 28, 1882), received a great accession of administrative power (April 5, 1884); professional syndicates, or Trade Unions, obtained, for the first time in France, permission to constitute themselves freely (March 21, 1884), while to all other citizens the right of association was still denied, or at any rate made conditional on the consent of Government; divorce, which the Restoration had struck out from the Civil Code, was re-established (July 27, 1884); and if the suppression of military chaplaincies in time of peace (July 8, 1880), and the dismissal of six hundred magistrates who had been compromised politically (August 30, 1883), on the face of them seemed militant measures,

Victor Duruy. The training of teachers for elementary schools had formed the object of an Act of the 9th of August, 1879, by which the number of Primary Normal Schools had been greatly increased, and when by the Laws of the 16th of June, 1881, and the 28th of March, 1882, it had been decided to render this instruction gratuitous, compulsory, and lay, the greater part of the programme to which Jules Ferry had given his name was realised.[1]

The victory had not been obtained without difficulty, however, for Monarchists and Catholics alike, still smarting from their recent defeats, had obstinately resisted the introduction into the law of the country of gratuitous and compulsory instruction.

On their side the Republicans, disturbed at the preponderance afforded to the clergy by the law of 1850, had made it a point of honour to exclude from the Public Schools the least trace of the influences of the confessional. Hence arose violent discussions, in which the clerical party declaimed against the "wickedness" of "atheistic" instruction, while their opponents, while not going so far as to threaten the liberty of instruction assured by the laws of 1833, 1850, and 1875, made a vain attempt to refuse this liberty to non-authorised religious associations.[2]

[1] The Acts of the 30th of October, 1886, on the organisation of teachers, and that of the 19th of July, 1889, on salaries, only crowned the edifice. Mention must also be made of the considerable reforms introduced into the programmes and methods of Higher Public Instruction, and the fresh vitality infused into professional education, as well as into agricultural, industrial, and commercial schools.

[2] Religious congregations have no legal existence apart from a

All the same, France now possesses in all its communes public schools for girls and boys, wherein the programme of instruction and the staff are exclusively lay, but anybody is free to open a competing private school and to impart the religious instruction which may best please him.

For the accomplishment of all these reforms much money was needed, both for building schoolrooms and for meeting annual expenses. Still larger funds were required for the enormous number of public works, such as railroads, canals, improvement of ports, &c., which were carried out during the same period; and not a few were also wanted for keeping the army abreast of incessant new scientific inventions, and for constantly renewing its material and armament.

the receipts of the Treasury while adding to its burdens.

Nor was this all. Hardly had the difficult battle of liberty been won, public works carried out, and the network of schools established, before France, or rather the Government of the day in France, realised that the country could not, without loss of moral prestige or danger for the future of its sons, remain an indifferent or passive spectator of the colonising impulse which was driving all the nations of the old continent to Asia or Africa, or in any other direction where outlets for trade were to be found.

But little desirous, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, of seeking new European adventures, France had remained scrupulously neutral in the Eastern war of 1877. Her diplomatists had simply joined their efforts to those of other cabinets in order to save what could still be saved of the Ottoman Empire, and they had issued from the Congress of Berlin with "clean hands" (1878). But France could not allow her Algerian colony to be menaced by Italian advances in Tunis, nor that old treaties which she had concluded in Tonquin or in Madagascar should be indefinitely disregarded ; and at the same time French explorers were as active in Africa as those of England, of Germany, and other countries. The expedition to Tunisia (1880–81), to Tonquin (1882–85), a first attempt upon the island of Madagascar (1883–85), the foundation of French Congo (1884), the increase of territory in Senegal towards the Soudan, were all enterprises which added enormously to French colonial possessions.

But from all time democracies have been indifferent to foreign glory and averse to distant enterprises, and this forward policy, of which the future alone can reveal the wisdom, brought many bitter disappointments to its authors, especially to Jules Ferry, and, joined to religious dissensions and the financial difficulties of 1884, it furnished a powerful weapon to the adversaries of the Republic and the irreconcilables of the Extreme Left.

All that we have been describing, however, took place amid utter Parliamentary confusion by a kind of collective and anonymous action, and without the possibility of attributing any particular act or event to any one person.

Jules Grévy, influenced by an old prejudice against

normal renewal of the Chamber in 1881 approached, conceived the justifiable hope of grouping round himself at last a compact majority which might be independent of either extreme wing. To this end he induced the Chamber to vote for the re-establishment of the departmental ballot for the election of deputies, judging this measure to be the most favourable to good party organisation, but the Act was thrown out by the Senate.

The elections of 1881 took place under the same conditions as before (*scrutin d arrondissement*, namely), and Gambetta, much annoyed at this check, himself sounded the first blast for a revision, and demanded above all that the Senate should be reformed in a manner which might make it more truly representative of public opinion. Such a demand was not calculated to simplify things. The elections of 1881 [1] resulted in a decisive victory for the Republicans, who carried off four-fifths of the seats, but Gambetta's motion for a revision had thrown the ranks of the Republicans into confusion, and the Chamber was still at the mercy of coalitions of the extremists. The President of the Republic resigned himself to the necessity of calling upon Gambetta to form a Cabinet, but the credit of the tribune had been exhausted in the eyes of the public before being used in the real task of governing. The new Ministry lasted but three months (November 14, 1881 to January 26, 1882), and Gambetta died on the 31st of

[1] We have no longer to speak of the partial renewals of the Senate. After 1879 every renewal brought an increase in the number of Republican members, so that now the Monarchists in the Upper Chamber are reduced to less than forty votes.

December, 1882, without having had the opportunity of showing exactly what his value in power might have been, and leaving without a leader an important group of deputies whom his personal ascendency had kept united. While he was still alive, but not in the Government, a Freycinet Ministry had been formed, which fell for want of having known how to preserve French influence in Egypt and act conjointly with Great Britain in the valley of the Nile. It was succeeded by a Cabinet under the premiership of Duclerc (August 7, 1882), which did its best to repair the evil wrought. After Gambetta's death the disorder in the Chamber was so great that two ministries perished in the space of two months. But at last Jules Ferry succeeded in forming one (Feb-

telegram which was immediately afterwards contradicted (peace with China being concluded, in fact, a few days later on advantageous terms), left both Par-

GAMBETTA.

liament and the public in a deeply disturbed condition of mind, from which neither have yet recovered.

The Radicals seized the opportunity to form a

Ministry with Brisson for chief (April 7, 1885), while the Monarchists hastened to make capital out of the public uneasiness at the state of affairs in the colonies. The departmental ballot (*scrutin de liste*) for deputies had been re-established just at the moment when the disorganisation of the Republicans was at its height, and the consequence was that at the General Election of 1885 more than a third of the adversaries of the Republic were returned to the Chamber. The resulting tension almost entirely paralysed Parliamentary action. The first symptom of weakness was the re-election of Grévy as President for yet another seven years, in spite of domestic considerations which ought to have caused him to be replaced. Perpetual ministerial crises (a Freycinet Cabinet on

The late colonial policy had possessed the advantage of appeasing the legitimate ambition which lies at the bottom of all human hearts. Since its cessation, and, above all, since the alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy had drawn an iron circle round France and, on pretence of repressing bellicose tendencies which she had never shown, refused her the right of free speech and almost of existence, men's minds had revolted more and more against a position of apparent menace to their country. Internal difficulties, both political and economical,[1] increased this irritation, and prepared the ground for agitation in favour of a Dictator.

The Chamber at last perceived its danger, and after a frontier incident which, for a moment, threatened the peaceful understanding between France and Germany, the Cabinet, of which Boulanger was a member, finally fell (May 30, 1887). The General, however, did not own himself defeated. Being on active military service, he stirred up his friends to lead an attack against the President of the Republic, who had exposed himself to hostile criticism through the indulgence he had shown to the doubtful proceedings of his son-in-law. Grévy, forced to resign, was succeeded by Sadi Carnot, grandson of the great Carnot (December 3, 1887), but the activity of the Boulangists showed no abatement. The

[1] At this period France was undergoing a formidable agricultural crisis, due in great measure to the ravages of the phyloxera in the vineyards. This gave rise to a movement in support of Protection, which, overthrowing the tariff of 1860, resulted in 1885 in a return to import duties for cereals and cattle, and finally, in 1892, to protective duties on everything except raw material.

General, dismissed from his military functions, formed a so-called National Committee, into which flowed bewildered Radicals and impatient Socialists, reinforced by Monarchists of all shades, Legitimist, Orleanist, and Bonapartist, all delighted at the prospect of overturning the Republic, and, by recommencing the tactics of 1851, prepared to hand over to an adventurer such fragments of good reputation as they still retained. This motley crew, gathering from all points of the horizon, rallied round the banner bearing the inscription, "Dissolution—Revision"; and such is the power of words over disunited and distracted men, that various departments, including even Paris, were found to elect the chief of this so-called "National Party" as their deputy.

The Ministry also had the resolution to summon Boulanger before the High Court of Justice in the Senate on a charge of conspiring against the safety of the State. Thus accused, Boulanger revealed his real nature. He fled, and was condemned *in contumacia*, ending his career by suicide two years later in Belgium when his adherents were beaten at the General Election of the 22nd of September, 1889.[1]

Such a political convulsion, requiring such strenuous efforts from the Government, constituted a grave warning to the Republican majority, while simultaneously testifying to the solidity and elasticity of the institutions of 1875.

Outside France, the lesson went home. Convinced at last that the Republic was a reality to be treated with, the Pope, Leo XIII., ordered his bishops to cease their open attacks, and the Czar Alexander III., by his solemn reception of the French squadron at Cronstadt (1891), inaugurated the Franco-Russian alliance. In France itself the recent experience was not quite as fruitful as might have been hoped. The Chamber elected in 1885 had hardly done anything beyond passing two laws: one, of the 24th of July, 1889, for the protection of deserted children, and another on the 15th of the same month which reduced the term of active service in the army to three years, and abolished all the dispensations accorded by the law of 1872, thus rendering compulsory the bearing of arms even for teachers, seminarists who are preparing for the priesthood, and the eldest sons of widows.

[1] A brilliant Universal Exhibition, got up to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution, took place in Paris during the last months of this crisis.

The Chamber of 1889 showed itself somewhat more capable than its predecessor in achieving a relative ministerial stability, but neither in financial matters nor in what are known as "social reforms" did it pass many useful measures, and generally it may be said that it knew better how to state problems than to solve them. Among the Acts of this period were the suppression of the police certificates (*livrets*) for workmen, the institution of delegates to be elected by miners for the surveillance of mining operations, and a modification introduced into Article 1780 of the Code Civil which put an end to the unjust dismissal of workmen by their masters (July 1 and 8 and December 27, 1890). Other measures of the same sort was the Act of the 31st of October, 1892, limiting the hours of labour for women and children in factories; another of the 27th of December of the same year which established courts of arbitration and reconciliation in the case of strikes; a third, dated June 12, 1893, which concerned the sanitation and safety of workshops; and finally the Act of the 15th of July, 1893, organising gratuitous medical aid in country districts.[1]

But two chief problems on the social side have remained unsolved. The responsibility of masters for the accidents happening to workmen in the course of work has not been determined, and the question of

[1] The Act of the 30th of December, 1894, for encouraging the construction of cheap houses, and that of the 12th of January, 1895, which secured a large portion of workmen's wages against seizure for debt, must also be credited to the Chamber of 1889, although both only actually became law later.

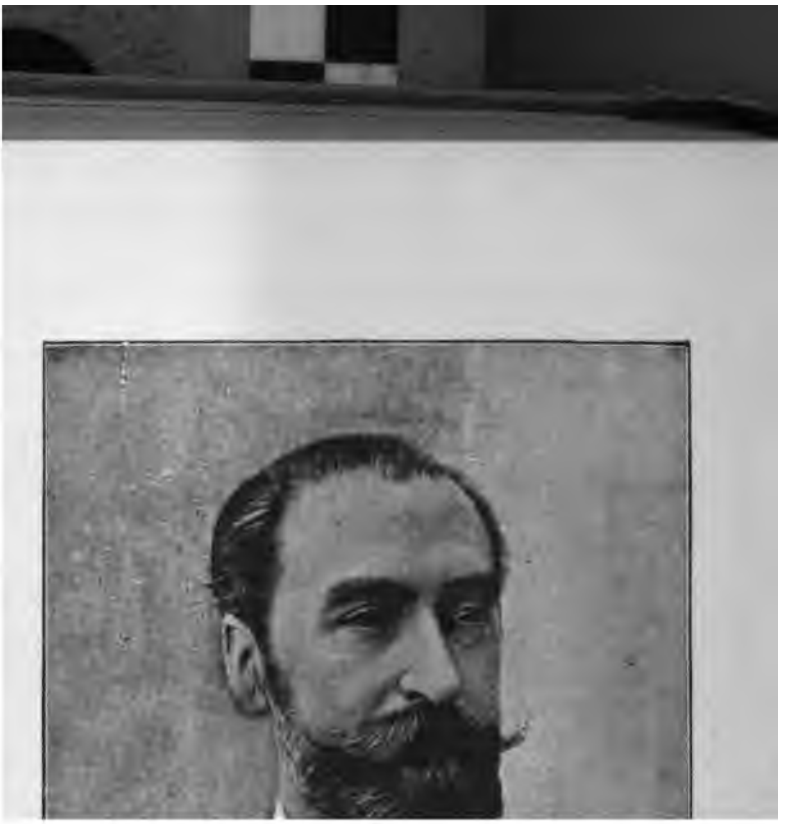
pensions for the old and invalid members of the population, although touched upon, has not been settled.

In the same way the financial system has remained at the point to which it was brought in 1871. On one side it consists in a too extensive imposition of indirect taxes which weigh heavily on the small consumer, and on the other it has neglected to lighten the load of direct taxes borne by the poorer members of the population.

As to the machinery of administration, that has not been sensibly altered for twenty-five years past, but while remaining unduly centralised, it is now directed by ministers whose tenure of power is so unstable that they have no time to master the details of government, while the functionaries in the departments have constantly to take into account the influence likely to be exercised by the senators and deputies of their respective constituencies.

Two Cabinets, one presided over by Freycinet (March 17, 1890), and the other by Loubet (February 27, 1892), had followed Tirard's without the changes of persons bringing with them any important alterations in method or revealing any practical importance in the incidents which had caused the different ministerial crises, when all at once, at the approach in due time of the General Election, a new storm broke out, with consequences which are not yet entirely exhausted.

Certain financial scandals, in which some members of Parliament had been involved, furnished the text for a series of outrageous accusations, calumnies, and defamations which were used to ruin, if possible,



whole political parties rather than to mete out proper punishment to the really guilty. These manœuvres, begun by the impenitent Monarchists, did not serve the purpose for which they were designed, since when the General Election took place on the 20th of August, 1893, the reactionary party failed to reconquer the confidence of the country. But the conditions of the moment were useful to the Socialists, who returned fifty members to the new Parliament; and, thanks to the loss of credit inflicted on the Government, even the Anarchist propaganda showed renewed vitality, resulting in various dynamite explosions in 1892, and in the assassination of President Carnot in 1894.

Before and after the General Election of 1893 several Cabinets fell in consequence of the incessant attacks made upon them, and which were favoured by the atmosphere of suspicion and denunciation created by political intriguers, who thus introduced a new element of uneasiness into the time-honoured neorosis of French assemblies. One Ministry after another — Ribot's (December 6, 1892), Charles Dupuy's (April 4, 1893), Casimir Périer's (December 3, 1893), Charles Dupuy's again (July 1, 1894), Ribot's again (January 26, 1895)—succumbed, and even the chiefs of the State were not spared. Casimir Périer, whom the National Assembly had selected as a successor to Carnot, resigned in six months rather than submit to the now habitual insults of Press and Parliament, and the present President, M. Félix Faure, was hardly installed before attacks were made upon his reputation.

This system of polemics has had the double effect of nauseating public opinion, and deterring from political activity various men whose assistance would have been valuable in affairs of the State; and at the same time Parliamentary activity is paralysed by the innumerable incidents arising in the Chamber. Prominence is given to the state of decay into which all the old parties have fallen, with a resulting situation of extreme complexity. A few infatuated deputies cling to the old institutions, and fondly hope that some accident will sooner or later restore a monarchy and replace on the throne one or other of the young princes representing fallen French dynasties. The members of the majority of the old Right are disposed to accept the accom-

of the Germans, turn to their own advantage the strikes which in France and elsewhere periodically paralyse industry, and have obtained the theoretical sympathy of some professors, and even of some preachers, who have at last discovered that it may be useful to the Church to conciliate the working classes. But, on the whole, the Socialists alarm public opinion by their violence, and compromise the success of necessary reforms by the excessive nature of their demands.

In reality, no strong political party has been formed since the spring of 1885, and no Premier has made any profound or durable mark upon the country; nor do the constituencies, offspring as they are of universal suffrage, seem to have a very clear idea of what they expect the Government to do. But, in spite of all, France is peacefully living and developing its resources side by side with, and independently of, the sterile agitation of her politicians.

XVI.

LETTERS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES FROM 1848 TO 1895.

THE first half of the nineteenth century was the great period of historical renovation. The latter half was remarkable for literary criticism. Everything passed through the crucible: romantic idealism,

We may remark, once for all, that in all branches we shall find representatives of the generation which reached its culminating point in 1830. It was a vigorous race, and its works, like its influence, lasted well over the first half of the century.

LITERATURE—THE STAGE.

In the present day journalism and the drama exercise an almost preponderating influence. Men have hardly the leisure necessary for serious reading. They require to be immediately and completely instructed on all points. And the same necessity has contributed more than anything else to enlarge the field of literary criticism, and to transform its methods.

The theatre, by its direct appeal to the mind and senses of the spectator, its foreshortened presentment of the most complicated questions, its illumination of a thesis by such aids as gesture, expression, costume, speech, and intonation can afford, has become the best means of establishing an understanding between the author and his public.

All writers of fiction in the present day transport to the boards the themes of their principal novels. Up to 1850 melodrama reigned; it was presently supplanted by the comedy of manners. Tragedy died altogether.

Ponsard's "Charlotte Corday" (1850) is hardly a tragedy, and still less could his "Lion Amoureux" (1866) be so described: they are dramas in verse, partaking of the two styles. The boldness of structure and the novel disregard of classic rules dis-

tinguishing these works astonished and distressed the admirers whom the author still retained. But historical drama was at its last gasp, and could not be galvanised into life by subjects borrowed from modern history, even when reproduced with absolute truth, in a sober and solid style.

The dramatic works which met with an unexpected success were those of Alfred de Musset, which Madame Allan-Despreaux brought from St. Petersburg in 1847. They were the offspring of irony—the irony of a poet who had been badly received on his first appearance, and who was now seeking to defy all conventionality. These exquisite pieces—"Le Caprice" (1847), "André del Sarto," "Le Chandelier," "Il ne faut jurer de rien" (1848), "Les

style of finished diction, wherein appear the eternal themes of man's fundamental selfishness, of woman's innate devotion, of virtue which survives the deepest fall, and of pride which defies every form of misery.

Such were the productions of dramatic authors previously to 1848. Emile Augier and Dumas fils inaugurated a new theatrical style, unknown until near the latter part of the nineteenth century. This was the "problem play," framed in an exact reproduction of contemporary manners.

Of the two, Emile Augier was the less philosophical. He saw correctly, but not far. He was a liberal-minded bourgeois who excelled in representing the manners of his time, and laid bare the soul of the French middle classes under the Second Empire. His first attempts in the line which was to make his reputation were unsuccessful. "La Ciguë" (1844), an elegant rendering of pagan customs, "L'Aventurière" (1848), a defence of family life, and "Gabrielle" (1849), a rehabilitation of that whilom ridiculous personage the injured husband, were more remarkable for sentiment than for characterisation. In the "Mariage d'Olympe" (1855), for the first time Augier frankly adopted that framework of contemporary manners and passions of which Dumas fils had already furnished the example. "Le Gendre de M. Poirier" (1855) has for its theme the meanness of an upstart who uses the social position of a ruined nobleman to secure his own advancement. "Les Lionnes Pauvres" (1858) is a masterpiece which brought into the strong light of the stage a type

already created by Balzac in Madame Marneffe, the vile woman who barters her conjugal fidelity for the means of maintaining a luxurious home. "Les Effrontés" (1861) was based on the intrigues of a venal press.

In the "Fils de Giboyer" (1862) Augier sought to write a social drama, taking for his argument the unholy alliance of clericals and legitimists. This attack upon the Jesuits was repeated in "Lions et Renards" (1869), wherein a tremendous battle wages around a dowry of nine millions. Meanwhile, Louis Veuillot had recognised himself in Giboyer. There followed a series of violent polemics which extended to the provinces, where each representation of the piece, made more successful by each fresh scandal,

advantages of divorce. These pieces had a great influence.

No writer surpassed Augier in showing that plague-spot of our time—the ravage worked in a modest, respectable household by the greed of luxury, or in representing the tyrannical sway of great financiers over the modern world. Augier was not a writer of the first order, for although his style in prose was strong, clear, and pure, his verse is heavy, laboured, and unrhythmical. But he is a finished artist possessed of the instinct of composition, knowing how to give their proper value to the smallest elements of his subject, and concealing the means by which, with consummate address, he leads up to the capital scenes forming the pivot of his comedy or his drama.

In the hands of Alexandre Dumas fils, contemporary manners made a startling entry upon the boards. "La Dame aux Camélias" (1852), "Diane de Lys" (1853), and "Le Demi-Monde" (1855), showed Augier and others the direction in which lay success. The first-named of these pieces was of a strongly romantic type, for Marguerite Gautier, the courtesan purified by love, had been dear to the school of that name. But Dumas, who had genius, invented an original manner in which he has so far never been equalled. He had a kind of evangelical austerity which not only stamped the concise and rapid dialogue of his dramas, but inspired the eloquent pages of his prefaces. In "Diane de Lys" he already developed the theory—more fully stated with greater force and elevation still in "La Femme de Claude" (1873)—that an adulterous wife should be punished

by the hand of the husband she has outraged. "Le Demi-Monde" was an exhaustive study of a hitherto little known and misunderstood world—the world of those women who hold a middle place between the entirely venal and the entirely respectable of their sex.

"Le Fils Naturel" was yet another and a stronger illustration of Dumas' pet theory that the theatre should be the mouthpiece of social reform. He dwelt on the inefficacy of the present law to punish the fathers of natural children, or to ensure to such offspring either the moral or educational training to which they are entitled. "To give life is in some cases more barbarous than to give death," was one of his phrases. The same conviction inspired "Les idées de Madame

the family, smirches love, dismembers the country, enervates men, dishonours women whose face and appearance it apes, and destroys those who do not destroy it."

Money which poisons marriage, the morality which is indulgent to men, the education which fails to prepare either men or women for domestic life, the laws which sacrifice women and children to the selfishness of men, the prejudices which find excuses for hidden frailty but are inexorable towards the sin springing from ignorance, and are not pacified even by repentance—such were the subjects on which Dumas exercised by turn his powers of denunciation. But the truths thus nakedly and pitilessly presented alarmed the public instead of converting it. The questions of general morality raised with the deliberate intention to irritate were fruitful of misconceptions. They were bitterly contested and passionately denounced. The public is not by nature philosophical, and it failed to reflect on the immense importance of these studies of manners. If moved for an instant, it forgot this impression the moment the curtain had fallen. But what it did not forget were the pictures, intensified by scenic artifices, which had been presented in all their cruel verity to its gaze.

Some truths may be wisely suppressed, or at any rate softened in the telling. They teach nothing to those who already know them, and too much to those who learn them for the first time; and we may ask if there is not some danger in revealing on the boards all the hidden springs of social life.

With these reservations we may admit that,

taken altogether, Dumas' dramatic works are admirable from the literary as well as from the professional point of view. He is a master of style, abounding in brilliancy, incisiveness, and vivacity, besides being a consummate artist, enamoured of expedients, and an expert in stage effects, with all the vigour, the precision, and the unfailing penetration of a profound psychologist. He released comedy from its ancient trammels, and made it capable of expressing everything that can be said.

Victorien Sardou abuses the freedom thus conferred. He is always challenging his public, always irritating and dominating it with the airs and graces of a lion-tamer. He began, so to speak, as a caricaturist, in the style of Gavarni or Daumier,

interests, amuses and sometimes even moves his hearers, but he never makes them think.

Labiche is full of natural gaiety, carried sometimes to the verge of indecency ("Le Chapeau de Paille d'Italie" 1862; "Le Voyage de M. Perrichon," 1860; "La Cagnotte," 1864; "Célimare le Bien Aimé" 1863). But even when most farcical he is an observer of good sense, free from pretension or pedantry, and never attitudinising as a moralist. And although his philosophy is of the light-hearted order it does not lack penetration, nor ever lose touch with the human element in comic things. "We have (with Labiche)," writes M. Lanson, "an uneasy feeling that the imbeciles, the eccentric and bewildered people whom he presents to us, are very like ourselves."

An exact account of contemporary drama should include a host of lesser, but still talented authors, who have had their hour of celebrity; but we must limit ourselves to mentioning the graceful proverbs of Octave Feuillet, almost always turning on the interesting struggles of women of thirty-five years against the sentimental passions assailing them when just on the threshold of old age; the charming drama, enlivened by touches of comedy, of Madame Emile de Girardin, entitled "La Joie fait peur" (1854); the piquant, satirical creation of Edouard Pailleron, "Le Monde ou l'on S'Ennuie" (1881); the bright and lively productions of Meilhac and Halévy ("Frou-frou," 1869; "La Boule," 1874; "Lolotte," 1879); "Le Nabab" (1880), "Sapho" (1885), and "L'Obstacle" (1890) of Daudet; "Le Passant" (1869), "Severo Torelli" (1883), and

"Pour la Couronne" (1895) of François Coppée; and finally such sensational melodramas as Dennery's "Deux Orphelines" (1865), and even "Le Maitre de Forges" of Ohnet, both of which had a great popular success.

There remains to be noticed only the naturalistic drama, which, while ostensibly representing the reality of life, pictured vice in all its naked hideousness. The first of these attempts, "L'Assommoir," 1879, obtained a prodigious success. Later the "Théâtre Libre" was especially founded with a view to giving scenes so coarse, not to say obscene, that they would not have been tolerated on any public stage. But the spectators were soon wearied and disgusted by this display, and the unmitigated

FICTION.

The novel has occupied almost as important a place as the theatre in the literary history of the last fifty years. The two styles have, in fact, been constantly and intimately mixed. Romanticism was definitively vanquished by naturalism, but the latter did not succeed in destroying idealistic fiction, which existed concurrently with the modern school until 1890, and then made a new spring forward.

Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier were the last representatives of Romanticism.

In 1862 Hugo published "Les Misérables," an immense work, crowded and confused, containing twenty novels in outline and not one completed. The most divergent elements meet in this work. Various theories are set forth in it, one being an attack on those invincible prejudices which grant no pardon to the evildoer, another the justification of the criminal by repentance, a third the vindication of the claims of the people as opposed to the *bourgeoisie.* In addition there is an idyll, a celebrated description of the battle of Waterloo, interminable digressions on the Revolution, furious onslaughts on the Church, stirring episodes of street fights in Paris, a sketch of Louis-Philippe, and, above all, a true and deep compassion for the weak.

Ten years later Victor Hugo published "Quatre Vingt-treize," wherein he depicts scenes from the war in La Vendée, and succeeds, perhaps for the first time, in creating characters of flesh and blood instead of mere abstractions. There is life in the democratic

gentleman, the rebellious aristocrat, and the unfrocked priest who becomes a fanatical jacobin.

All Hugo's works are crammed with antitheses and caricatures, and their style is declamatory and deformed by a constant effort at extraordinary effects. But they are so vigorous, so original, so full of "go," that, in spite of their unnatural lengthinesses, one reads them with passionate interest.

Gautier published "Le Capitaine Fracasse" in 1863, after thirty years' patient labour at it. There exists nothing more artistic than this charming novel, wherein realistic comedy and unbridled fancy are found side by side. But in these adventures of strolling players in the time of Louis XIII. one must be content to seek nothing beyond a collection

Flaubert's "Salammbô" and the "Thaïs" of Anatole France are examples.

George Sand, after her exquisite pastorals, returned to the novel of fashionable life. Age calmed her, and her novels became simpler, and were free from the old passionate protests against marriage and social injustice. She came to resemble the kind old lady who tells touching stories to her grandchildren. The "Marquis de Villemer" (1860) describes the love arising between a poor young girl and a great nobleman; "Valvèdre" (1861) rehabilitates a husband rising superior to ridicule through inherent force of character, and "Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois Doré" (1858) is a story of old days, a gracious picture of the eighteenth century with its dainty, gallant, and generous ways. But if George Sand's vision of life altered, her descriptions of nature remained unsurpassed, and her style was supple, clear and harmonious to the end.

Our next idealist is Octave Feuillet, who, when materialism in literature was already pronounced, struck a note that was almost unnatural. The scene of his novels is laid in the fashionable world of aristocracy or wealth. His personages are all heroic-hearted, with exceptional passions, unfailing good breeding, and a somewhat finikin grace. The framework is always the same: beautiful gardens, correct cascades, pleasant plantations, and as the episodes of the story are also of little variety, the reader is fatigued by a sense of monotony. "Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre" (1858), "Julia de Trécœur" (1872), "Les Amours de

Philippe" (1887), are all romantic, passionate, witty, poetical, and delicately written. Vice in these pages is amiable, and virtue a seductive coquette. They seem expressly written for those fashionable ladies who, in the words of X. Aubryet, "love to talk of the forbidden fruit, but are careful never to taste it. M. Feuillet," continues the same writer, "has invented for their benefit the libertinage of chastity." We must omit "Monsieur de Camors" from this judgment, that being Feuillet's greatest work, wherein the two principal characters, an ambitious and sensual politician and a guilty, almost cynical woman, are drawn with a vigour unusual in the author.

Theuriet, who is a pleasing, amiable writer, may be regarded as a faithful disciple of George Sand.

Alexandre Dumas fils is an idealist in his elevated sentiments and moral didacticism, but a realist in the cruel truth of his pictures of life. As we have already shown, his chief productions are dramatic, but he began his task of legal and social regeneration by such novels as "La Dame aux Camélias" (1848), "L'Affaire Clemenceau" (1867), "La Dame aux Perles" (1853), and "Sophie Printemps" (1853), which rank in literary history through the brilliancy of their style, the precision and lucidity of their language, and their amazing flow of penetrating and original wit.

Chamfleury was the first realistic novelist, but his commonplace style renders "Les Bourgeois de Molinchart" (1855) alone worthy of mention among his works.

The same may be said of Henri Monnier, who created the famous type of "Joseph Prudhomme."

Gustave Flaubert gave an original turn to fiction, and his masterpieces have served as types and models for the Naturalist school, which during the last twenty-five years has exercised a predominating influence in Literature and Art. Nevertheless he fell more than anybody under the spell of Romanticism, and derived from Théophile Gautier his horror of the bourgeois, his vigour of speech, and his theory of Art for Art. Flaubert owed to Romanticism his richness of colouring and consummate power of expression; but differed essentially from it in his uncompromising artistic principles which forbade his introducing his own personality into his works, and made him preserve an attitude of complete impassibility in the midst of the most perfect expression. The success of

"Madame Bovary" (1857), the finest of contemporary novels, ruined romantic fiction. The minute study of the sentimental heroine brought into relief the conclusion that the vague aspirations and transcendental emotions suggested by romantic literature may engender immorality and be responsible for abject falls and sordid misery. The analytic truth, and sober yet energetic style of "Madame Bovary," leave an impression on the mind of the reader compounded of strength, of tragic grandeur and profound sadness; and this impression is deepened to the point of pain by "L'Éducation Sentimentale" (1869), which describes in the same coldly impersonal manner the slow and progressive extinction of a fine nature under the monotony and purposelessness of provincial middle-

ness. He never would offer anything to the reader which was not as perfect as possible. He created immortal types through the care which he took to bring into relief the smallest details of his personages' individuality. Art was his only religion—the art which consoles for all miseries, moral or psychological.

The brothers de Goncourt pretend to be the inventors of Naturalism, but that is not absolutely the case. Like Flaubert they endeavoured to banish imagination from their works, and to copy nature faithfully. Replacing psychology by physiology and pathology, their method, like that of a superior sort of reporter, was to collect all possible documentary evidence regarding the fashions, modes of dress and states of mind of the persons with whom they proceeded to fill their books. "Soeur Philomène" (1861), "Renée Mauperin" (1864), "Germinie Lacerteux" (1865), "Manette Salomon" (1867), "Les Frères Zemganno" (1879), and "La Faustin" (1882), simply display the booty which the writers picked up in the hospitals, the almshouses, the social Bohemia, and the world of "hysterics," studio "devils," and charlatans which they frequented. The Goncourts were very successful in painting the modern young girl, especially the fashionable Parisian variety, with all the artifices of mind which she owes to an excessive refinement of civilisation. They created the so-called "impressionist" style which eliminated from the language all the colourless words unproductive of sensations.

Emile Zola has always been the uncontested master of the Naturalist school, having established his claim not only by the talent which inspired his works, but

by the programmes and manifestoes in which he explained his doctrines. He maintained the possibility of experimental fiction, derived from experimental physiology. He adopted the conclusions and the theories of Claude Bernard, of Taine and Comte. "The experimental novel," he said, "is a consequence of the scientific evolution of our age. It continues and completes physiology, which in its turn is based upon chemistry and physics. It replaces the study of abstract, metaphysical man, by the study of the natural man, the resultant of physico-chemical laws joined to the influence of his surroundings. Just as classical and romantic literature corresponded to an age of scholasticism and theology, so does the experimental novel correspond to the present predominance

whose members are otherwise related than by an artificial genealogical tree—to describe professional peculiarities, pathological cases and social strata. "La Curée" (1872) is an account of the fast fashionable women of the Second Empire; "Le Ventre de Paris" (1873) describes the great Parisian provision markets; "La faute de l'Abbé Mouret" details the consequences of priestly celibacy; "L'Assommoir" (1877) deals with the working-classes and the disastrous results of alcoholism; "Pot Bouille" (1882) is a picture of middle-class life; "Au Bonheur des Dames" (1883) is a picture of the great shops; "Germinal" (1885) describes the life of miners, "La Terre" that of French peasants; "La Bête Humaine" (1890) is a narrative of railways, "L'Argent" (1891) of the Bourse, and "Lourdes" (1894), of a great pilgrimage.

Zola is no psychologist, and all he sees in his personages are appetites or physiological disorders. The women whom he loves to describe without disguise have only sensations or temperaments ("Thérèse Raquin" is a sanguine temperament, "Madeleine Férat" a nervous specimen). But he possesses a potent imagination which exaggerates reality to the pitch of prodigy. His descriptions—and they are so voluminous as to occupy in each work almost as much space as the narrative itself—are of such force and intensity as in certain cases almost to attain to hallucination. He endows inert things with life, with will, with thought. A locomotive, a mine, a big shop become in his hands fantastic giants which threaten, crush and devour poor human creatures. For the same reason he excels in describing masses, crowds,

and collectivities, or such incidents as strikes, riots, pilgrimages or racecourses. These events become for him colossal beings with a life of their own. The same method was employed by Victor Hugo in "Notre Dame de Paris," and it has been said, not without reason, that Zola's novels are sociological epics.

It is this which makes their greatness, joined to the immense pity they reveal for the poor victims of surrounding influences, at a time when science has proclaimed these influences to be the law of individual development. And we may attribute to the same qualities the enormous success achieved by Zola, not only in France, but in England and America, rather than to a depraved enjoyment of those brutal realisms of description by which the

the phases of their hard struggles and the poignant episodes of their daily fight with want ("Le Petit Chose," 1868; "Jack," 1876; "Fromont Jeune et Risler Ainé," 1874). Thanks to the patient series of observations made when he was secretary to the Duke de Morny, he was able in "Le Nabab" (1877) to describe the voluptuousness and selfishness of Paris under the Second Empire; and in "Les Rois en Exil" (1879) to recount the grandeur and pathos of the existence of dethroned sovereigns; while "L'Immortel," published in 1888, deals especially with the famous Institute of France. He dwells lovingly on the sunny landscapes of Provence, as well as on its manners, its legendary types, its good-humour, its incorrigible fanfaronade, and its spirit of enterprise and intrigue ("Tartarin de Tarascon," 1872; "Tartarin sur les Alpes," 1885; "Numa Roumestan," 1881). In "Sapho" (1884), a painful study of illicit relations, he revealed himself as a profound and keen psychological observer, and his "Evangéliste," published in 1883, is a masterly description of religious fanaticism.

Guy de Maupassant, if not the true master of the Naturalist school, may fairly be entitled its classic. He most resembles Flaubert, in his sobriety, his force, his absence of sensibility, his simple, vigorous style, and the exactness of his observation. A haughty, ironical pessimist, with a scarcely concealed contempt for mankind, his only conception of the world is that of the constant pursuit of material advantages, comfort, enjoyment, and happiness. He excels in creating vulgar types ("La Maison Tellier,"

1881; "Mdlle. Fifi," 1882; "Les Soeurs Rondoli," 1884; "La Petite Roque," 1886). "Une Vie" (1885) is a masterly account, exact and mournful, of one of those many colourless lives of middle-class women who know only brief and commonplace joys, only mean if painful disappointments. Maupassant has pitilessly exposed the real existence of the politicians and journalists—too common nowadays—to whom all means are good so long as they lead to success, that is to money, power, and pleasure ("Bel-Ami," 1885).

Maupassant is the last serious exponent of Naturalism. After him the idealists come once more to the front. Anatole France, who resembles Renan in his irony and scepticism, and is himself witty and very

d'Amour," 1886; "Cosmopolis," 1892), the souls of young men whom a philosophical education has perverted ("Le Disciple," 1889) or who are consumed with hatred, as in "André Cornelis" (1887). Bourget is far from being a naturalistic writer. He prefers describing depth and delicacy of feeling to the dryness of studying the physiology of passion.

Pierre Loti is a curious reversion to the style of Bernardin de St. Pierre and Chateaubriand, although differing essentially from them by his modern spirit and his profound pessimism. Nature is nothing but a succession of phenomena, therefore man should make haste to enjoy his sensations, which are at once doubled by the idea that they cannot last, and diminished by the certainty of their approaching annihilation. Hence the deep melancholy of Loti —a melancholy which must not be confounded with that *mal du siècle* oppressing René. Loti paints nature admirably. His descriptions of Sénégal in "Le Roman d'un Spahi" (1881), his pictures of the ocean and of Brittany in "Mon frère Yves" (1883) and "Pécheurs d'Islande" (1886), and of the extreme East in "Madame Chrysanthème" (1887) and "Le Mariage de Loti" (1882), are full of a picturesqueness which nobody since Chateaubriand has rendered so faithfully.

The realism of Balzac then passed by degrees into the elegant realism of Flaubert and the naturalism of Zola. Fiction contented itself with celebrating natural forces, animal life, and even mechanical organisms such as a locomotive or the shaft of a mine. Then little by little once more idealism resumed its

sway. But naturalism will at any rate have achieved this much, that henceforward the least realistic of novelists will be forced to observe life. And at present there are no schools. Every writer works on his own lines.

P. Hervieu, author of "Peints par Eux-mêmes" (1893), "L'Armature" (1865), and M. Prévost, to whom we owe "Lettres de Femmes" (1892), "Les Demi-Vierges" (1894), "Notre Compagne" (1895), are keen and not too indulgent analysers of aristocratic devices; while P. Margueritte in "Pascal Gefosse" (1887), "La Force des Choses" (1892), and "La Tourmente" (1893), as well as Rosny in "L'Impérieuse Conté" (1894), and "L'Indomptée" (1894), bring to the consideration of the social problems of the day a sincere and remarkable sympathy for the weak, the suffering, and the poor.

POETRY.

In poetry, Romanticism, thanks to Victor Hugo, took a fresh lease of twenty-five years of life. From his retreat in Guernsey, whither the disappointed ambition to play a political part had driven him, Hugo hurled against the Empire his satirical lyric, "Les Châtiments" (1853), which, inspired by anger against those who had sacrilegiously attacked his person, and by the bitterness of ten years' deluded expectation, contained magnificent affirmations of Right against Might, sublime vindications of justice opposed to violence, and a superb expression of confidence in the reparations promised by a future life.

Three years later, in 1856, appeared "Les Contemplations." Here Hugo appears as appeased in his wrath and resentment, as absorbed in meditation on his Ego and satisfaction at duties accomplished, and consoled by belief in the grandeur of universal progress. In 1859 he began, and completed between 1877 and 1883, "La Légende des Siècles," a poem unexampled in French literature, which, in a series of magnificent symbolical pictures, sums up all the poet's humanitarian philosophy, his belief in God, his devotion to the people, his scorn of kings and priests. Later he underwent that strange erotic crisis which Renan and Michelet also experienced at one time, and he abandoned himself in his "Chansons des Rues et des Bois" (1865) to an outburst of Rabelaisian gaiety.

On the fall of the Empire he returned to Paris, and was moved by the horrors of the siege to write "L'Année Terrible" (1872), while family affection inspired "L'Art d'être Grandpère" (1877). Living, he "entered upon immortality," and his funeral was an apotheosis. He had become the idol of the people, not only through his genius but through his exile, his love for humanity, his pity for the humble and the miserable, the opportuneness of his political conversions, his rather coarse temperament, his passion for puns, his knack of unmeasured invective, his surface familiarity, his adoration, over-advertised perhaps, for his grandchildren, the little Georges and Jeanne, his immoderate pride, his imposing solemnity and his green old age.

Victor Hugo filled the nineteenth century with his

personality and writings, just as Voltaire did the eighteenth. On literature his influence was immense, as he gave Romanticism a formula and traced out the path it was to follow, while enriching the imagination and the language of his contemporaries. But he remained to the end the man he had been in 1830, while the taste of the public changed, and although as long as he lived in Guernsey his books were eagerly read as having all the flavour of forbidden fruit, from the moment that he returned to France they received merely a respectful attention, to which he was not blind and which annoyed him.

By the year 1848 Romanticism was a fashion of the past. Théophile Gautier himself had abandoned

"Poèmes Barbares" (1859), and "Poèmes Tragiques" (1884).

This poet, so pessimistic, ironical, and lofty, traversed the whole cycle of illusory religious beliefs, none of which brought him the assurance of eternity since they all passed in succession like the phenomena of life. There is mournfulness in the spectacle of these various fugitive shapes, under which humanity, shrinking from the idea of death, has sought to perpetuate itself. But the phenomena of life are attractive in appearance, and Leconte de Lisle transcribed them, as they passed, with a wealth of colouring and a stateliness of form which no other poet has ever equalled.

He was the founder of a school, and drew around him the so-called "Parnassiens" (1866–76), who turned to Ancient Greece for their inspiration, and were all remarkable for beauty and purity of form.

Objective poetry thus created took various forms. Leconte de Lisle had sought his subjects in archæology and history; but Sully-Prudhomme, in "La Justice" (1878) and "Le Bonheur" (1888), inclined to philosophy and science, revealing himself, once more, therein as a profound pessimist deeply sensitive to human misery and compassionate towards all the weak and suffering.

François Coppée gave a naturalistic turn to poetry, and in "La Grève des Forgerons" (1869), "Les Humbles" (1872), and "Promenades et Intérieurs" (1872) he endeavoured to reproduce the humbler forms of popular life, but lacks the sentiment and the breadth which such subjects require.

J. M. de Heredia ("Les Trophées," 1893) resembles Leconte de Lisle and Théophile Gautier in his perfection and the brilliancy of his verse, each small line of which is admirably finished.

Verlaine, who is at once simple and refined, straightforward and complex ("Jadis et Naguère," 1885; "Parallèlement, 1889), is nearer to true naturalism than Coppée. Everywhere around us now are interesting groups of symbolists and decadents, enamoured of art and mystery, but bizarre, involved and obscure. We have no longer any great poet.

CRITICISM.

Criticism, as we have already remarked, exercised

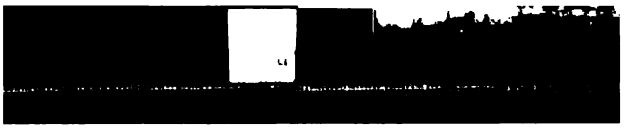
flexible intelligence was possessed with the desire of understanding all things and making all things understood. He studied individuals with intense curiosity, so as to retrace, if possible, the causes of the dawn of literature. Instead of judging by general principles, as Villemain did, and finding the historical explanation of a writer in the period wherein he lived, Sainte-Beuve first of all tried to understand his existence, inquired into his ancestry and education, asked who was his wife or mistress or friends, what his children were like, what had been the incidents of his career or the nature of his temperament, and with the help of these details he reconstructed the author's works. Then after taking the living machine bit by bit to pieces, and showing all its wheels, he would put it together again, and with consummate ability make the organism he had thus re-endowed with vitality perform all its functions under our eyes. From that moment the most complicated machine had no longer any secrets for us, and we can understand why Sainte-Beuve has left no later critic anything to say about the writers whom he dissected.

Pursuing and extending his peculiar method, he discovered groups of minds, and endeavoured, so to speak, to write their natural history. Thus, in his own way, he followed that great scientific current of the century which had already suggested to Balzac the idea of writing his "Comédie Humaine." Indeed we may well quote M. Sorel, and say that the famous "Lundis" (1857–62) were another and greater "Comédie Humaine."

Sainte-Beuve left a surprising collection of word-

portraits. If he did not succeed in imparting a really scientific character to criticism, it was because original people amused and interested him more than abstractions. Consequently his systematic pretensions are not to be taken seriously, a really scientific form of criticism being quite as impossible to achieve as a really scientific novel. The experiment, nevertheless, was resumed by Taine, who, with his philosophical determinist tendencies, sought to apply to literary criticism the methods and terminology of science. "Here, as everywhere, the problem is purely mechanical," he said; "and the resultant is determined by the amount and direction of the forces producing it."

Now the determinant causes of literature are race,



fails to explain why Shakespeare or Lafontaine should be geniuses instead of mediocrities.

The method of Taine is, however, fundamentally experimental, and, as such, of incomparable effectiveness, and would indeed be perfect if it could be applied by an absolutely impartial mind. "Very small facts, carefully chosen, important and significant in themselves, largely circumstantiated and minutely described, form in the present day the material of all science." But the evil is that such small facts may be collected with a preconceived notion, and applied to the demonstration of a foregone conclusion. They recall too much the documentary evidence which Benjamin Constant had gathered together against an attack on the part of the Church, and which, when his ideas changed, turned out to be easily susceptible of constituting an apology. Taine had an immense influence over our generation, and contributed more than anybody to the development of naturalism. From him have been borrowed the note-book, the ardent interest in nevrosis, the scientific attitude and the pessimism of contemporary writers, many of whom also owe to him the lofty idea they have of their mission.

Fromentin adopted in art criticism the methods of Sainte-Beuve. To Taine he is indebted for his subtle psychology, and the share of influence over the artists which he assigns to the period, race, and surrounding influences, but differs from him on the important point of individual originality to which he does full justice ("Les Maitres d'Autrefois," 1876).

F. Brunetière, succeeding to Sainte-Beuve and

Taine, was the author of an innovation which introduced into criticism the scientific theory of evolution. Although a pessimist, like all the greater minds of this century-end, he is by nature a combatant rather than a dreamer, and, with a reasoned conviction which is a force in itself and a rather rough mode of argument, he undertook to revive the classical traditions of the eighteenth century, by attacking and overthrowing naturalism ("Histoire et Littérature," 1883; "Le Roman Naturaliste," 1883; "L'Evolution des Genres," 1890). He even broke a lance with science itself by demonstrating its inability to explain or to satisfy the thirst for an ideal which devours humanity.

J. Lemaitre, curious, ironical, and highly artistic,

philosophy became more and more deeply imbued with science. In 1852 Comte published his "Positivist Catechism," in which, modifying his original tendency to disregard everything but phenomena, he inclined to attribute more and more importance to Cause.

Littré, Comte's principal disciple, upheld against the master the original principles of Positivism, and yet he also came to recognise eventually that "organs only arise through or for an adaptation of organised nature to its ends," which almost amounts to the admission that living nature has intentional movements, and that every phenomenon of life reveals a Thought.

Taine began the demolition, piece by piece, of the Eclectic school ("Les Philosophes Français du XIV^me^ Siècle," 1857). He completed Positivism by applying analysis to the study of intelligence ("De L'Intelligence," 1870) and making mental analysis the one method of acquiring knowledge. The mind in this theory, which, when all is said, explains nothing, is "only a flux and group (*faisceau*) of sensations and impulses which, when seen on another side, are merely a flux and group of nervous vibrations." The Idea is merely an image, and the image a sensation. By this system psychology is brought back to physiology, and we are plunged in sheer materialism. Taine's theory nevertheless had a marked influence on literature, and forced philosophy to take into account, more fully than before, the very close bonds existing between the moral and physical worlds.

Renan has affirmed the determinism of phenomena

with more energy than Taine ("Averroes," 1852; "L'Avenir de la Science," 1890, and other works). Phenomena, he maintains, are to be explained by natural laws whose regularity excludes the idea of all superior and exceptional intervention. With such a system metaphysics cannot exist. On the other hand, science is not absolute; our ideas are all relative, and truth and falsehood only differ by degrees. Philosophy should simply be a form of criticism limiting itself to investigation and comparison, but never pronouncing a judgment. Let us now consider the application of this general theory. The world in its primitive state was composed of atoms whose properties were purely mechanical. It has reached its present condition by a series of slow

broad and true tolerance to which it leads in matters of belief. Renan has made it impossible for men, whom Revelation does not satisfy, to believe, but he has also made wars of religion equally impossible. Practically he has taught that the end of thought should be the search for truth which excludes all miracles, while the object of the Will should be Good, which excludes egotism. Renan has been very badly judged, but the world has come to a better understanding of him since the publication of his letters. The public in general is not very accessible to elevated and rather abstract ideas, and it only saw in Renan a sceptical *dilettante* who applied himself with incomparable grace and a dazzling wealth of imagination and beauty of style to juggling with the most formidable problems and the emptiest futilities. To tell the truth, he rather encouraged this misunderstanding by the ironical indulgence which he never could help exhibiting towards frivolous women of fashion and fools of all worlds. This was a survival of his ecclesiastical education.

Criticism is so entirely the dominant characteristic of this century-end that Renouvier, adopting and continuing the method of Kant, has based it upon philosophy ("Essais de Critique Général," 1854–64), and by means of this doctrine energetically combats both positivism and idealistic spiritualism, of which the first only considers the Represented and neglects the Representative, while the other has regard merely to the Representative and excludes the Represented. Renouvier's views lead to liberty, immortality, and a belief in the existence of God. "All beings have

evidently a destiny; a general law of finality is an essential part of the order of the world." All the individuals of which the world is composed should perfect themselves by everlasting progress, and the existence of a Supreme Being, God, is necessary for assuring the means of realising particular ends, as well as for constituting and maintaining the moral order of the world.

Caro was the most uncompromising of the Spiritual school. He found immaterial elements even in matter, and rendered nature more complicated by attributing Mind to it.

At the present day France has Positivists, "Criticists," and an infinite number of Psychologists who seek their inspiration in Taine's method of mental

reveal "attractions between sentiments and wills, solidarity among intellects, and penetrability of consciousness." The future will show if he was right.

HISTORY.

History also has changed with the age, Taine the philosophical, and Renan the critical, historian succeeding to Michelet with his creating force.

Michelet could not resign himself easily to the shipwreck of his political illusions, which had been swallowed up in the storms of the Republic and the events of the *coup d'état.* He took refuge in the study of nature and composed the charmingly original works known as "L'Oiseau" (1856), "L'Insecte" (1857), "La Mer" (1861), "La Montague" (1868), besides "L'Amour" and "La Femme," in which, perhaps intoxicated by material delights, he was guilty of some disconcerting indiscretions. In the interval he terminated his "History of France" (1855–67) from Charlemagne to the French Revolution. As we already remarked with reference to his history of the Revolution, his manner had undergone a great change. Kings, priests, and nobles are henceforward objects of suspicion to him, and he attacks them with the ferocity of a Jacobin fanatic, even going so far as to attribute baseness and crime to them. He magnifies the importance of small physiological causes, such as the health of Francis I. or the fistula of Louis XIV., but in spite of all this he writes admirable pages on the Renaissance, on Luther, or the Wars of Religion and the Court of the Valois. Such is the fire of his genius and such the force of

his style, that one reads what is bad as what is good in him with the same intense interest. What will never perish is all the first part of this history, the six volumes containing the narrative of the Middle Ages, with the splendid picture of France, the story of Joan of Arc, whom nobody ever understood like this savage anti-clerical, and the account of the reign of Louis XI. In these pages Michelet has indeed "resuscitated" the entire past.

Romantic history is now at an end. Tocqueville, in "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution" (1856), renews old ties with tradition, with Montesquieu. He shows that the Revolution is not an isolated fact in the history of France, not, as certain schools have affirmed, a series of symbols without historical pre-

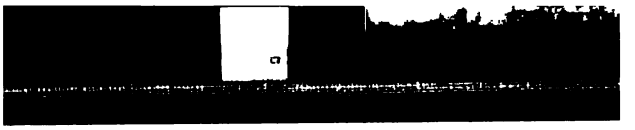
the solutions found for its problems were false; consequently they led to the catastrophe of 1789 and the imperfect reorganisation of 1800. But since then methods have changed, solutions have become true and practical, and in future all will be changed in politics. "The legitimate Queen of the future world is not that which in 1789 was called Reason, but that which in 1878 in known as Science."

This phrase is the key to Taine's work, which is a great and solid production, in spite of some partiality apparent in the judgments pronounced on the connection between certain facts. The style is picturesque and romantic, in singular contrast to the logical strictness of the author's reasoning. But the perpetual resort to a pitiless method of analysis ends by producing a painful impression on the reader, who feels himself discouraged, embittered, and saddened.

Fustel de Coulanges was yet another philosophical and learned writer. But, unlike Taine, he does not pursue a theory through infinite ramifications, or collect numberless small, suggestive facts. In his view, history should simply investigate the past by means of texts submitted to unsparing criticism and the strictest verification ("La Cité Antique," 1864; "Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France," 1875, *et seq.*). He is the least subjective of all our historians, and grasps realities without being either dry or prejudiced—only admirably simple.

Renan is an eminently philosophical historian ("Études d'Histoire Religieuse," 1857; "Origines du Christianisme," 1863, *et seq.*; "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," 1888, *et seq.*). He is a great critic of tradi-

tions, documents, and facts; assigning to them their limitations and their proper place. For him there is more certainty in the general character of a period than in particular facts to which he inclines to attribute only a symbolical value. By the magic of his style, and through his erudite archæological and exegetic equipment, he succeeds in presenting a living picture of the past. Before his time the comparative study of religions was reserved for theologians, but Renan found for it a place in history. We have already shown the importance of this revolution. Renan is an admirable writer, flexible and full of the sense of gradation. His descriptions of scenes and personages are marvellous, and his style, though eminently picturesque, is simple, and interfused with



ment of reaction against these two forms of excess has already revealed itself. Fustel de Coulanges is in reality more literary than philosophical.

In the same way M. Lavisse excels in showing human will pitted against facts ("Études sur la Prusse," 1879; "La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric," 1891); "Le Grand Frédéric avant l'Avènement" (1893). And M. Sorel, author of "L'Europe et la Révolution," 1885–92, is another writer of the same sort. His studies of history, of strong and conscientious quality, sober and yet elegant in style, accord to documentary evidence the importance which belongs to it and no more, while leaving the reader to make the reflections and draw the conclusions which naturally suggest themselves to his mind.

POLEMICS AND ORATORY.

Since journalism has become a power, newspapers have played the part formerly filled in political polemics by books and pamphlets.

Louis Veuillot, editor-in-chief of the "Univers," never ceased from 1848 onwards to attack the University, and to defend the Church and Papal Infallibility in articles full of rather coarse power and caustic penetration. He was a writer of original talent, self-formed through the study of classics; and he left some remarkable books such as "Les Libres-Penseurs" (1848), "Dialogues Socialistes" (1849), "Les Odeurs de Paris" (1862), and "Rome pendant le Concile" (1872).

Two other celebrated controversialists of the time belonged to the University, and had passed through

the École Normale. One, the ironical and sarcastic Prévost Paradol, made war upon the Empire in the "Journal des Débats" and the "Courrier du Dimanche," but was reconciled to the Government on its becoming more liberal. He was the author of some subtle studies on "The French Moralists" (1865) and "Modern France." In the last-named work ("La France Nouvelle," 1868) he predicted the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, and deplored the consequences which would follow on the accession to power of the democracy with its creed of equality.

Edmond About, who wrote in "Le Figaro," "Le Moniteur," "L'Opinion Nationale," and "Le Gaulois," and founded "Le Dix-Neuvième Siècle," was a brilliant writer, full of alertness, wit, and fancy. In

of opinion, even rallying round the tricolour the very men who were previously brandishing the red flag. In the course of Parliamentary debates the poet showed a wide knowledge of political economy, such as could hardly have been expected from the nature of his genius. He took up the most complicated questions, and, his imagination aiding, he foresaw or predicted even the distant consequences which were likely to follow on them.

Victor Hugo displayed in the Chamber all his passion for antitheses, and unexpected comparisons, for declamation, excessive solemnity, and tragic gestures. His powerlessness to improvise a statement or to make a retort left him at the mercy of the laughter and loud remarks provoked at times by his theatrical effects and immeasurable vanity.

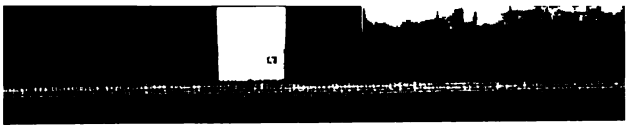
Political eloquence was temporarily suppressed by the Coup d'État, but it revived when the Empire became liberal and orators made furious attacks upon the Government.

Thiers, always clear and ready, was accustomed to expose the blunders and incoherence of the Empire, and as early as 1864 he prognosticated the military disasters which were to overwhelm it.

Jules Favre, whose principal qualities as an orator were amplitude and correctness, ardour and sentiment, contributed to the unpopularity of the Mexican expedition; while the impetuous Gambetta, with his tongue of fire, succeeded in levying armies and reorganised France by restoring her confidence in the future. The narrowness of party prejudice and the base envy of the majority, composed of mediocre

minds, prevented his realising his full programme of reforms.

As the Republic became consolidated, general questions and struggles for principle were replaced by speeches on business, and this change in the nature of Parliamentary eloquence brought many men of talent to the front. To mention them all would make too long a list, and we can only mention Jules Simon, whose clever phrases and emotional, caressing manner touched more hearers than they convinced; Jules Ferry, whose clear, incisive, solid, and somewhat rugged speech was lightened by sudden outbursts of poetry, which he owed to his Vosgian ancestry; Léon Say, so lucid and witty that he could make even figures



has attended his career. Père Montsabré is enthusiastic and poetical, if somewhat inclined to over-subtle moralising; and Père Didon, the best of all, is at once earnest and intrepid, fervidly interested in social questions, and convinced of the necessity of a living and practical religion.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In this department of thought the historical school originated by Auguste Comte found conditions more favourable to its development in Germany than in France.

The orthodox belief triumphed with us, and its exponents limited themselves chiefly to waging war against Socialists and Protectionists. To the spirit of controversy thus resulting we may perhaps attribute the want of any great work.

We may mention "Les Ouvriers Européens" (1856) of Le Play, which is a remarkable description of working-class family life; the "Réforme-Sociale" (1864) of the same author, an attempt at founding Christian Socialism; "L'Ouvrière" (1861), by Jules Simon, a moral and literary, rather than economical, work, in great request among Socialists, as it furnishes numberless statistical facts and is instinct with pity for the poor; "Un Traité d'Economie Politique," published in 1860 by Courcelle Seneuil, who endeavours to separate his subject from its practical applications and place it on a more purely scientific basis; finally the various works of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu ("Essai sur la Répartition des Richesses," 1880; "Traité de la Science des Finances," 1877; "L'État Moderne,"

1889); "L'Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," by Levasseur (1867); and "Les Solutions Démocratiques de la question des Impôts," by Léon Say, which was issued in 1886.

ART.

Art in France has followed precisely the same lines as Literature, only remaining longer under the influence of Romanticism. This was followed first by Realism, then by all the exaggerations of the Impressionist school, which, by a natural reaction, resulted in a return to Mysticism.

PAINTING.

Some of the masters who were known before 1848 still fill the scene, among others Ingres, who in his green old age produced that dream of plastic beauty

("The Crossing of the Rubicon," 1857), Tony Robert Fleury ("The Last Days of Corinth," 1870), Gérome ("Ave César" 1859; "King Candaules," "Phryne," 1863; "Cleopatra and César," 1874), Cabanel ("The Birth of Venus," 1863), and Bouguereau ("The Triumph of Venus," 1856), handed on the classical tradition of Ingres.

Meissonier deserves separate mention. His talent lies in microscopic *genre* pictures executed throughout with minute and almost excessive care. "The Reader" (1841), "A Game at Bowls" (1849), "The Smoker" (1850), "The Quarrel" (1855), "Eighteen Hundred and Seventeen" (1890), form a series of small masterpieces which met with a prodigious if not entirely unambiguous success, and were sold for enormous prices.

Landscape is, however, the style of painting which under the influence of Romanticism has progressed the most. A school which made its headquarters in the forest of Fontainebleau went simply and directly to Nature for its inspiration. Théodore Rousseau has drunk deep of the poetry of woods, and reproduces their beauty in his canvases, which are remarkable for their strong, delightful colour, their breadth of touch, and their solid brush-work, as instanced by "After Rain" (1852), "Oak Trees at Apremont" (1855), "An Avenue" (1855).

Millet, the friend of Rousseau, regarded landscape as only a fitting background for his labourers and shepherds, true men of the fields, whose existence and whose character he studied day by day till he transferred them to the well-known pictures, so surely

executed and full of quiet tone, "The Angelus" (1867) and "The Knitting Lesson" (1868).

Corot returned to classic sources and fell in love with nymphs, and dryads, and naiads ("Dance of Nymphs," 1849). He is particularly successful with small canvases, such as "A Morning at Ville-d'Avray," a canvas instinct with the poetry of dawn and sunset, and painted with a delicacy which appeals to the cultured rather than to the crowd.

Troyon is more particularly an animal-painter. There is power in his "Labouring Oxen" (1853), "Touque-Valley" (1853), and "Return to the Farm" (1859).

Diaz, a brilliant yet harmonious colourist loves evening landscapes, shadowy underwoods, and sunlit

even for those who, in imitation of him, called themselves Realists, and asserted that Art consists above all in exaggerating and magnifying, and that to produce a masterpiece one has only to observe well.

"I do not know if I am a Realist, as has been said repeatedly. All I know is that I mean to paint my impressions of the world which I see. I do not wish to be only a painter; I wish also to be a man—a living man." This declaration produced a paroxysm of rage in all the schools.

Courbet's Franche-Comté peasants, coarse, prosaic, deliberately brutal in appearance, clothed in rags and wearing muddy or broken boots, his peasant-women, with bare, dirty feet; his ultra-naturalistic female bathers, were described as revolutionary (*vide* "An Afternoon at Ornans," 1849; a "Burial at Ornans," 1850; "Women Bathing," 1853; "Rustic Lovers," "Stag-Hunt," 1857; "Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine," 1857; "Stone-Breakers," 1850; "The Return from a Conference of Parish Priests," 1863).

The strong and striking talent of Courbet exercised an immense sway. He recalled the established schools to the paths of truth and sincerity, and dealt a deathblow to the prejudice which had hitherto prevailed against reproducing on canvas the realities of modern life, the types and customs of the day.

Henri Regnault, who fell, while quite young, at the battle of Buzenval, might perhaps have formed a school side by side with that which was inspired by the bold example of Courbet. Regnault's colouring was extraordinary—"The palette," wrote Gautier,

"belonged to him." He laid upon it colours unknown before his time, and obtained effects which one would have thought impossible, but for seeing them produced with so prodigious a facility. Regnault's "Portrait du Maréchal Prim" and "Salomé" are well known.

Edouard Manet, outstripping Courbet, was the creator of Impressionism, which starts from the principle that reality strikes us not through its form but its colour. This theory abolishes draughtsmanship—all that is necessary is to make or prick dots upon the canvas. Manet, truly admirable as a colourist, succeeded in reproducing the most subtle effects of light and found differences even in the colour of shadows, but his figures are very carelessly executed ("The Absinthe Drinker," 1860; "A Breakfast on

reveries and mystical aspirations, and Puvis de Chavannes in his decorative mural paintings, with their delicate pale colouring and purity of designs, has attained a delightful effect of simplicity, naïveté, and freshness ; as, for instance, in his "Saint Genéviève," in the Pantheon (1876, *et seq.*), "Pro Patriâ Ludus" (1880), and "The Sacred Wood" (1884).

Gustave Moreau in "Œdipus and the Sphinx" (1864), "The Young Man and Death" (1865), "Orpheus torn by Mænads" (1866), "The Sphinx's Riddle Solved" (1878), and "Helen" (1880), has sought in brilliantly executed pictures to give expression to lofty philosophical and literary ideas.

BLACK AND WHITE.

After 1852 Gavarni's satire became almost savage, the text of his drawings being to the last degree caustic, as in "Children who Bite" and "Parisian Physiognomies."

The great designer of the age was Gustave Doré, a marvellous artist, who would have been a genius had he known how to restrain his impulse to production, and who excelled in painting and sculpture. He was full of imagination, of fancy, and vigour, and was endowed to the highest degree with the sense of dramatic effect.

The masterpieces which may be cited as examples of his versatility are the illustrations to Rabelais (1854), to "Les Contes Drolatiques" of Balzac (1856), to "Don Quixote" (1862), and to Dante's "Divine Comedy" (1861–68).

Bida, who was a distinguished Orientalist, succeeded better in drawing than in painting. Being endowed with a sense of values and good powers of observation, he rendered scenes, attitudes, and costumes with great precision and verisimilitude. His "Gospels" (1873), illustrated with the true Oriental landscape, architecture, and costume, were a revelation.

Caran d'Ache, who is careful, strong, and original, has created a remarkable form of cartoon without texts. The politics of the day have suggested some amusing compositions to him, but his talent in this line is somewhat monotonous, and lacking in the depth of thought and satirical keenness of his predecessors. On the other hand, his magic-lantern slides for the "Chat Noir," such as "The Temptation of St.

Long after 1848, Clésinger continued to produce works as full of merit and as unequal as of yore, and in 1856 executed a colossal equestrian statue of Francis I., which is a crowning example of his talent and its defects.

Barye allowed himself to be discouraged by the ill-will and the barely concealed jealousy excited by his superb studies of animals. He devoted himself to the commercial side of art by executing small bronzes, candelabras, tazzas, and candlesticks of an original character. In 1851, however, he completed a serious work of art in his "Jaguar Devouring a Lion," and formed some good disciples in Cain, who produced "A Young Fawn Chasing Rabbits" (1859), "A Lion of Sahara" (1865), and in Fremiet, a sculptor of profound anatomical knowledge, among whose more remarkable works are "A Wounded Hound" (1850), "A Man of the Stone Age" (1872), "A Bear and a Man of the Stone Age" (1885).

Carpeaux follows Rude in his love of violent movement. He reached his highest point in the "Neapolitan Fisher-Boy" executed in 1858, a work full of expression and animation; but fell into some exaggeration in his famous "Dance" (1869), which has been described as "a whirling group of mad Bacchantes." Perfect examples of his talent are the bas-reliefs of the "Pavilion of Flora," where the young and gracious goddess is represented surrounded by frolicsome children; the central group of the Observatory Fountain, entitled the "Four Quarters of the Globe"; and finally the busts—so living and real—of the Princess Mathilde (1863), the

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and Love" (1872), "The Fir

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is best seen in his "Trio

Dancer" (1873), "Woman with a Peacock" (1890), and "Diana" (1890), sought to avoid mere prettiness and to find in a conscientious study of nature some eternal type of beauty.

Dubois is something of a mystic, as proved by his "Narcissus at the Fountain" (1863), "A Florentine Singer" (1865), "The Virgin and Child" (1867), "The Birth of Eve" (1873).

ARCHITECTURE.

In architecture there are doubtless some remarkable monuments from a technical point of view, but no novelty: only successful imitations of the past.

One may mention Visconti's completion of the Louvre (1853) carried on in the three following years by Lefnel, the new Hôtel de Ville by Ballu (1873), and Viollet le Duc's masterly restoration of the Castle of Pierrefonds. Davoud rebuilt the theatre in the Place du Châtelet, and the Trocadero Palace; Abadie constructed the fortress of the Sacred Heart; and Charles Garnier made an effort at originality in the Opera House (1861–75)—a building of which the details are interesting but the *ensemble* is disappointing.

MUSIC.

Meyerbeer terminated his magnificent career by "Le Prophète" (1849), "L'Africaine" (1865), and "Le Pardon de Ploermel" (1859)—in which works he showed himself by turns tempestuous and gentle, melancholy and exuberant.

Berlioz, destined to be always misunderstood, appeals to the most mystical side of Christianity

in "L'Enfance du Christ" (1854); and showed himself tender, graceful, and pleasing in "Beatrice et Bénédict" (1862), and full of poetry and melody in "La Prise de Troie" (1863) and "Les Troyens à Carthage" (1863).

Félicien David succeeded better with the theatre-going public than Berlioz, because of his greater clearness. His "Perle du Brésil" (1851) and "Herculaneum" (1859) are expressive and picturesque; while "Lalla Rookh" (1862) is a masterpiece of Oriental languour and sensuous poetry.

After these masters music became more and more objective, in obedience to the tendency which we have found everywhere, in literature, philosophy, and art. It endeavoured to give the impression of some definite sentiment or passion, and consequently the symphony assumed immense importance.

Gounod, with his large, rich, varied style, drew inspiration from the antique for his "Sappho" which appeared in 1850. "Faust" (1859) and "Romeo and Juliet" (1867) are full of poetical charm, and "Mireille" (1862) is finely finished.

Ambroise Thomas, in style supple and graceful, gentle and dreamy, but always correct in method, published "Le Caïd" in 1849, and followed that up with his masterpieces, "Un Songe d'une Nuit d'Eté" (1850), "Mignon" (1866), and "Hamlet" (1868), all remarkable for melody, rhythm, and delicate harmony.

Bizet, who died too young, left works of an extraordinary richness of colouring, as in "La Pêcheuse de Perles" (1863), and of great melodiousness, as in

"L'Arlésienne" (1872) and the dazzling "Carmen" (1875).

Victor Massé showed himself original in "Galatée" (1852), and more imitative in "Les Noces de Jeannette" (1853).

Reyer boldly followed the lead of Berlioz in "La Statue" (1861), "Sigurd" (1886), and the ballad of "Sacountala" (1858).

Massenet, whose talent was elegant and charming yet restrained, wrote "Le Roi de Lahore" (1879), "Hérodiade" (1884), "Manon Lescaut" (1884), and expressed in "Marie Magdeleine" (1893) the purest sentiments of the Christian religion.

Saint-Saens showed himself austere, yet bold and dramatic, in "Etienne Marcel" (1879) and "Henri VIII." (1883), and sought to give a pictorial value to music in "Le Rouet d'Omphale," "Le Déluge," and "La Danse Macabre."

A special style, the operetta, was born under the Second Empire, at a time when the pursuit of pleasure and the satisfaction of material wants were the great preoccupations of society.

Offenbach, although a German, was the creator of a novelty which seemed entirely Parisian. The librettos written by Meilhac and Halévy were highly humoristic, coarse, and witty at one and the same time, and showed a scanty respect for the most venerable traditions. "Orphée aux Enfers" (1861), "La Belle Hélène" (1865), "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein" were the offspring of an eccentric muse, somewhat dishevelled and short-kilted, who later assumed a rather soberer garb in the hands of

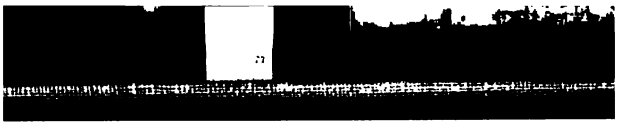
Lecocq ("La Fille de Madame Angot," 1872) and Hervé ("Le Petit Faust," 1869; "La Femme à Papa," 1879).

The operetta gained favour rapidly with the public, and now tends to supplant the comic opera.

SCIENCE.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Science has acquired such importance and developed along so many lines, that its disciples have been forced to limit themselves entirely to their respective branches. The universal, encyclopædical man of learning has disappeared and been succeeded by the specialist, who devotes his intellect, his genius, and his life to studies of a strictly limited description.

Thanks to this division of labour this concentra-



Foucault, in 1851, invented the gyroscope for observing the oscillations of the pendulum. He established on a firmer scientific basis than ever the truth of the earth's rotation; and in collaboration with M. Fizeau calculated anew the distance of the moon from the sun, by means of the velocity of light.

Janssen studied the telluric rays of the solar spectrum, and by his observations on eclipses established the existence of a new solar corona. In 1891 he ascended Mont Blanc with the purpose of setting up an observatory, which is now in full working order.

Cornu measured the velocity of light; determined the mean density of the earth, and carried through various experiments in spectral analysis serving as a basis for conjecture on the composition of stars.

Faye, who had discovered a comet in 1843, demonstrated that these bodies are attracted or repelled by the sun, and that this double phenomenon is present in the relations between all celestial bodies. He studied solar cyclones (1873), meteorological problems, and formulated some very curious hypotheses, much controverted since, on the origin of the world (1884).

Tisserand (1888–90) published a masterly treatise on celestial mechanics.

PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

Cailletet liquified gases hitherto considered permanent (such as oxygen and hydrogen) by sub-

mitting them to enormous pressure in an apparatus of his own invention (1877).

Becquerel made interesting investigations on the solar spectrum and electric light, and on the refrigerating capacity of liquid bodies. In 1873 he published a remarkable memoir on the intervention of physico-chemical forces in the production of natural phenomena.

Marcel Deprez utilised electricity as a motor force, and by its means succeeded in transporting to a great distance the power generated by a waterfall, a steam-engine, &c. (1881–85).

Lippmann studied the relations existing between electrical and capillary phenomena (1875), invented the capillary electrometer, published important works

processes for the industrial production of aluminium (1854), and was the discoverer of the law of disintegration acting upon atoms.

PASTEUR.

Moissan, after some beautiful experiments on the properties of cyanogene in its various combinations, succeeded in isolating fluorine (1886–89).

Pasteur discovered the causes and formulated the

theory of vinous, alcoholic, and acetic fermentations, and exhaustively studied the nature of tartaric acids and moulds. His investigations, so important from an industrial point of view, finally led to his great discovery of the causes of infectious maladies, to be described further on.

Berthelot, the greatest chemist of the age, established the true part played by synthesis in the creation of new beings, methodically constructed in harmony with the same general laws as those governing natural bodies of which analysis has revealed the composition. By this new conception of synthesis and the application of its principles, organic chemistry was placed upon its present basis, with definite compartments and an unlimited series

organic matters, while microbes do the same thing for vegetable soil.

Finally, he was one of the founders of Thermo-Chemistry and Chemical Mechanics. His works, written in a beautiful style and inspired by a philosophic spirit, prove that all chemical phenomena are finally due to the action and reaction of the final particles of bodies, atoms or molecules, and to the forces generated by this movement. The amount of energy involved may be measured by the heat set free or absorbed in the moment of transformation, and which has itself a mechanical equivalent. Hence the chemical action is found to be reducible to the same definition, the same unity as all natural forces, and chemistry ceasing to be a merely descriptive science, becomes classed with the other branches of physics and rational sciences.

NATURAL SCIENCE.

Mines and mineralogy formed the subject of important investigations by M. Daubrée, who discovered the formation of veins of tin and, contemporaneously of veins of iron in lakes and marshes. He also demonstrated the presence of arsenic in combustible minerals, in volcanic rocks, and in sea-water. He studied the chemical composition of planetary bodies, and introduced experimental synthesis into geology.

De Cloizeaux, the eminent mineralogist, studied crystallography and the optical properties of minerals, with interesting results.

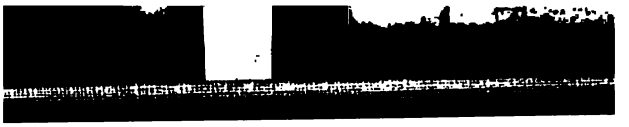
Lacaze-Duthiers has devoted himself to the study of

zoophytes, and revealed their life history and organisation under a new point of view. He published, among other works, a "Natural History of Corals" (1863), and advanced the cause of science by establishing zoological laboratories on the coast (1873). "The World of the Sea and its Laboratories" (1889) is the title of another of his volumes.

Blanchard published some remarkable observations on worms and insects. The best known of his works is one on Insects, their Metamorphoses, Habits and Instincts (1867).

Flourens showed that animals have not only instinct but also intelligence which, however, although incontestable, cannot reach the degree of a reasoning faculty.

De Quatrefages after devoting himself for a long



sur la Physiologie et l'Anatomie Comparée de l'Homme et des Animaux" (1855–84).

In botany Chatin was the creator of the comparative anatomy of vegetables, of which the immediate aim is to classify vegetables by the anatomical characters corresponding to their morphology (1854–66). Chatin's researches into iodine (1850–60) demonstrated the existence of this body in streams and rivers, in the soil, in plants, animals, and the atmosphere, instead of, as formerly supposed, only in the sea.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

Anatomy has remained stationary; but the ever-growing use of the microscope has led to various histiological discoveries. Ramier and Cornil published an excellent manual on Pathological Histiology (1869).

Physiology, thanks to the application of the experimental method, has become a true science.

Vulpian's learned study of the physiology of the brain (1867), and Brown-Sequard's researches into the physiology of the spinal marrow led the way to new discoveries.

The most mysterious functions of life revealed themselves to Claude-Bernard. For him medicine, equally with physics and chemistry, must be based not upon observation alone but also upon experiment. We can only have cognisance of the relations exhibited by phenomena, consequently the words life, death, health, disease "are purely literary expressions

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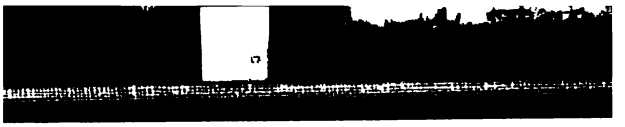

he went on to prove that they are the cause of alteration in wine, beer, &c.

These discoveries led him to make investigations into infectious maladies, and he found a microbe to be the cause of anthrax in sheep and oxen. By cultivating the virus he succeeded in attenuating its force progressively, until he obtained a principle which by vaccination ensured immunity from the disease (1881).

Pasteur followed up these conclusive experiments with others on cholera among fowls (1880), and rabies (1881), and the discoveries he made revolutionised medicine and surgery. Antiseptic treatment and dressings were adopted which prevented the contamination of wounds by infectious germs. Pasteur's pupils, Chamberland, Roux, and others, by continuing his system, brought down the death rate from the most terrible maladies such as diphtheria and phthisis.

Mental maladies and disturbances of the nervous system have also been the subject of curious investigations. Moreau, of Tours, had already shown that madness is a lesion of the faculty of attention, that genius is a form of nevrosis, and that lofty conceptions arise from the same source as mental alienation and instinct.

Charcot, by a series of brilliant experiments on the subjects of such nervous maladies as hysteria, hypnotism, somnambulism, &c., furnished materials for a scientific explanation of phenomena which had long been considered supernatural.

Marey brought a mathematical precision to the

the flight of birds (" Physiolo

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GOVERNMENTS AND MINISTRIES IN FRANCE FROM 1789 TO 1895.

1789–1792. FIRST REVOLUTION. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.
Louis XVI., King of France and of Navarre.
M. de Barentin, Keeper of the Seals.
M. Necker, Director-General of Finance.
July 12, 1789. The Baron de Breteuil, Head of the Cabinet.
July 16, 1789. Recall of Necker.
September 4, 1790. Resignation of Necker.
September 3, 1791. Promulgation of the First French Constitution.
October 1, 1791. Constitutional Ministry formed by M. de Narbonne and Bertrand de Molleville.
March 19, 1792. Ministry of the Girondists, Dumouriez and Roland.
June 18, 1792. Ministry of the Feuillants, Chambonas and Monteil.
August 10, 1792. Suspension of the king, Louis XVI. Election of a Ministry by the Legislative Assembly under Danton and Roland.

1799. FIRST REPUBLIC. NATIONAL CONVENTION (September 21, 1792, to end of October, 1795).
September 21, 1792. Abolition of Royalty by the National Convention.
Election of Ministers by the Assembly.
Ministers form an Executive Council.

March 25, 1793. Creation of the Committee of Public Salvation.

April 1, 1794. Ministries replaced by Commissions.

August 22, 1795. Constitution of the Year Three.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY (November 2, 1795—November 10, 1799), of which the following were successively members: La Reveillère, Lepeaux, Letourneur, Rewbell, Sièyes, Barras, Barthélemy, Carnot, Merlin (de Douai), François (de Neufchâteau), Gohier, Roger - Ducos, General Moulins.

September 4, 1797. *Coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor.

November 9, 1799. *Coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire.

1799–1814. CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, Consuls.

December 13, 1799. Consular Constitution. First Consul: Bonaparte. Second Consuls: Cambacèrés and Lebrun.

August 2, 1802. Bonaparte Consul for life.

May 18, 1804. Napoleon I. Emperor of the French.

1814–1830. RESTORATION.

April 11, 1814. Abdication of Napoleon I.

April 14, 1814. Louis XVIII., King of France and Navarre.

May 13, 1814. Dombray-Talleyrand Ministry.

June 4, 1814. Constitutional Charter.

March 19, 1815. Flight of Louis XVIII.

March 20, 1815. Return of Napoleon I. to Paris. Hundred Days. Cambacèrés Ministry.

April 22, 1815. Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire.

June 22, 1815. Second Abdication of Napoleon I.

July 8, 1815. Second Restoration of Louis XVIII.

July 9, 1815. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, Premier.
September 26, 1815. Duke de Richelieu, Premier.
December 29, 1815. General, Marquis Dessolle, Premier.
November 19, 1819. Count Decazes.
February 20, 1820. Duke de Richelieu.
December 14, 1821. De Villèle.
September 16, 1824. Death of Louis XVIII. Accession of Charles X.
January 4, 1826. Viscount de Martignac, Premier.
August 8, 1829. Prince de Polignac, Premier.
July 29, 1830. Duke de Mortemart, Premier. Flight of Charles X.
July 31, 1830. Ministry of Dupont (de l'Eure).

1830–1848. MONARCHY OF JULY.

Louis-Philippe King of the French.
August 14, 1830. Constitutional Charter.

Premiers under Louis-Philippe.

August 11, 1830. Dupont de l'Eure.
November 2, 1830. Laffitte.
March 13, 1831. Casimir Périer.
May 17, 1832. Count de Montalivet.
October 11, 1832. Marshal Soult, Duke de Dalmatie.
July 18, 1834. Marshal Count Gérard.
November 10, 1834. Duke de Bassano.
November 18, 1834. Marshal Mortier.
March 12, 1835. Duke de Broglie.
February 22, 1836. Thiers.
September 6, 1836. Count Molé (with Guizot).
April 15, 1837. Count Molé (without Guizot).
March 31, 1839. Girod (de l'Ain).
May 12, 1839. Marshal Soult.
March 1, 1840. Thiers.
October 29, 1840. Marshal Soult (with Guizot).
September 19, 1847. Guizot.

May 4, 1848. Meeting
Executive Commiss
François Arago, Ga
tine, Ledru-Rollin.
June 24, 1848. Gene
War, is entrusted w
November 4, 1848. C
December 20, 1848.
Napoleon Bonapar
Republic. Odilon-
May 28, 1849. Meeti
June 2, 1849. Second
October 31, 1849.
Ministry.
January 9, 1851. Rou
Ministry.
January 24, 1851. M
General Randon.
April 10, 1851. Min
Léon Faucher.
October 26, 1851. M
General de St. Arna
December 2, 1851. D
d'état.

Principal Ministers under Napoleon III.

1852. De Persigny, St. Arnaud, Fortoul, Magne, Fould, Drouyn de Lhuys.
1854. Billault.
1855. Rouher, Count Walewski.
1858. General Espinasse, Prince Napoleon.
1860. Thouvenel, Baroche.
1863. Duruy, Behic.
1865. Marquis de la Valette.
1866. Marquis de Moustier.
1867. Marshal Niel, Forcade de la Roquette.
1869. General Le Boeuf.
January 2, 1870. Emile Ollivier, Premier.
August 9, 1870. General Count de Palikao.

1870–1871. GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

September 4, 1870. Proclamation of the Republic. Formation of a Provisional Government, comprising General Trochu (President), Emile Arago, Crémieux, Gambetta, Garnier-Pagès, Eugène Pelletan, Ernest Picard, Henri Rochefort, Jules Simon.

1871–1895. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (January 13, 1871—March 8, 1876).

February 17, 1871. Thiers is elected chief of the Executive, and, on August 31, President of the Republic. His principal Ministers were: Dufaure, Jules Favre, E. Picard, Jules Simon, Pouyer-Quertier, V. Léfranc, De Rémusat, Aug. Casimir Périer, Léon Say, De Fourtou, etc.
May 24, 1873. Marshal MacMahon, President of the Republic, Vice-President of the Cabinet until the beginning of the Constitution of 1875.
May 25, 1873. Duke de Broglie.
May 22, 1874. General de Cissey.
March 10, 1875. Buffet.
February 23, 1876. Dufaure.
March 8, 1876. Commencement of the present Constitution, voted in 1875 by the National Assembly.

	Dece
Jules Grèvy (elected January 30, 1879; re-elected December 28, 1885).	Febr
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Carnot (elected December 3, 1887).	Dece
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	May 3
Casimir Périer (elected June 27, 1894).	July 1,
Félix Faure (elected January 17, 1895).	Januar
	Noven

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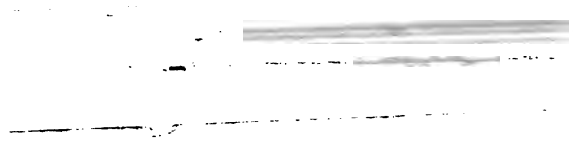

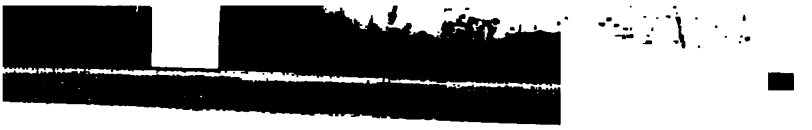

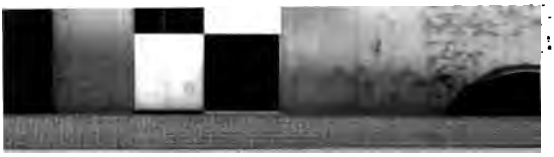

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